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TRUE REFORM IN THE TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, in his article, "Reform in the Teaching of the Old Testament" (*Contemp. Rev.*, August, 1889), endeavors to impress us with the conviction that we must adopt a reform or expect a revolution in the teaching of the Old Testament. With the watchword, "Reform, an alternative to Revolution," he insists on the necessity of a compromise between belief and skepticism. It is in order to save the Old Testament as a piece of Christian religious literature that we must be prepared to change our tactics in its regard. The danger threatens us from modern criticism; to modern criticism, therefore, all concessions must be made. What, in the opinion of Prof. Cheyne, we ought to yield to modern critics may be summed up in two propositions: 1. The results of Bible criticism must be admitted as certain. 2. In matters with regard to which modern criticism has not yet spoken the last word, we must suspend our opinion. But these general conditions of the proposed compromise are considerably modified in their application. In the following pages we shall, therefore, first consider the way in which our author applies his principles, and then suggest the outlines of a true reform in the teaching of the Old Testament.

The article in the *Contemporary Review* first of all vindicates the rights of modern criticism, and then endeavors to prove the existence of some results. It is certainly discouraging for an emi-

nent specialist to read in the Diocesan Address, for 1889, of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, that "as yet there are really no established results (in the Old Testament criticism) beyond those which are recognized in our prayer-book." To be told by Dr. Wace (*Nineteenth Century*, May, 1889) that "the younger school of English Hebraists is going too far and too fast," can but elicit a smile of compassion on the face of a scholar who is himself of no little weight in that school. "Too far and too fast," indeed, the professor grants, Old Testament criticism goes for New Testament scholars; but, instead of criticising, the New Testament specialists ought rather to encourage and help on their Old Testament colleagues, if not from a feeling of friendship and love, at least for the good of New Testament theology.

Nor is it only the speed and forwardness of Old Testament criticism that Prof. Cheyne must defend; the very foundations of the science are said to be sandy, all is hypothesis and theory; fashion is the only standard of truth. Present adherents of Kuenen-Wellhausen may next year, if circumstances require it, adhere to any other author whose system is more novel and striking. The writer in the *Contemporary* does not deny it, but sees in this fact rather a happy sign of independent thought. The renowned Bible critics professedly adhere to no definite philosophical system; their course is not influenced by any strong philosophical bias. And when the objection is urged that if historical criticism is untrammelled by philosophy, it is also unguarded by theology, the whole matter is settled by the question, whether "any of the leaders of religious thought in our day are pure supernaturalists." The learned professor does not seem to realize the fact that his own remark concerning the difference of views on the supernatural proves the sandy foundations of Bible criticism. If the supernatural depends on the various subjective conceptions of nature's limits, and does not surpass all possible natural exigencies and resources, the critical canons, too, of the Old Testament students will vary with various authors. If we are allowed to speak of a pure and a partial supernaturalism, as we speak of a pure and partial liberalism, in religion, and especially in its Old Testament department, we shall soon be reduced to a greater influence of personal interests and ambitions than we see in common politics.

The objectively supernatural, then, is banished from the study of the Old Testament, but we enjoy psychologism of criticism instead. Prof. Cheyne does not see any harm in becoming a psychologist in criticism, since when out of the pulpit "we are almost all of us psychologists in exegesis." We must, according to the principles of psychological criticism, approach the facts of the Old Testament as nearly as possible, and then explain them according

to the laws of nature, if we can; if we cannot, we leave them unexplained. The meaning of these principles is more fully determined in a foot-note, in which we are permitted to express a *theological* conviction on the nature of a historical fact, provided we do not speak as historians. Thus allowance is made for the consoling position of Delitzsch, namely, that neither in the Old nor the New Testament critical analysis necessarily leads to a denial of miracles either historical or spiritual. So much for the principles of psychological criticism; we shall next consider the results of this kind of critical analysis.

Dr. Hermann Strack's "Introduction to the Old Testament" is here appealed to by Prof. Cheyne as an orthodox theological cyclopædia of the results of modern Old Testament criticism. Whether this appeal has been influenced by the fact that Dr. Wace refers Mrs. Humphrey Ward to the same author is hard to determine; but in any case Dr. Strack's results, though scarcely disavowed by any expert in Protestant Germany, are a long way "too far and too fast" for us. St. Paul's principle, to study all things with a view to building up, is certainly far from being followed in one and all of Dr. Strack's results, in as far as they are utilized by Prof. Cheyne. The first result pointed out by the professor concerns the book of Daniel, and comprises two facts: 1. The book of Daniel was not written by Daniel. 2. Its second part dates from the time of the Machabees. If even the psychological critics find it difficult to disintegrate the book of Daniel,—and that they do, according to Dr. Strack's avowal,—what reasons may they have for disintegrating the work at all? In which of its two principles has modern criticism a motive for its way of acting? The proximity to the facts does not lead us to suppose an author different from Daniel; it is, on the contrary, an acknowledged fact that Daniel calls himself the author of the book; if we then reject his authority with regard to this fact, why should we believe him in other points? Nor does the second principle of psychological criticism force us to reject the authorship of Daniel, for, according to it, we must explain facts naturally, if possible; if we cannot explain them thus, we leave them unexplained. There is a question of *explaining* facts, not of changing or inventing them. The fact, then, of Daniel's authorship might have been left unexplained, if there was need; but it should not have been denied, as criticism has denied it, by assigning the book to another author.

The next result pointed out by Prof. Cheyne touches Ecclesiastes, and a pitiful result it is. "The Jewish tradition with regard to Ecclesiastes must be abandoned." The Professor supposes Ecclesiastes to be the first part of a man of the world's apology for Christianity. But we are not told in the *Contemporary* what this

astonishing result of psychological criticism involves—twenty-one different theories at least, each of which claims an equal right with that of Prof. Cheyne, have sprung into existence; each assigns to Ecclesiastes a different origin and a different period of composition. Nachtigall, Paulus and Grotius; Hardt, Keil and Haevernick; Rosenmüller, Ewald and Stähelin; Gerlach, Delitzsch and Burger; Maier, De Wette and Kleinert; Schenkel, Böttcher and Hitzig; Reuss, Vatke and Graetz, are some of the representatives and defenders of each of the twenty-one theories. They all assure us that their own view is the most probable and satisfactory. Nor are we told that, on the other hand, men like Wangemann, Boehl, Taylor, Lewis, Bullock, Schaefer, Motais, Essen, Reusch, Vegni, Welte, Scholz, Danks, Haneberg, Vigouroux, Tschokke, Schenz and Cornely still defend the truthfulness of the Jewish tradition concerning the origin of Ecclesiastes, and point out Solomon as the author of the book. Matters standing thus, psychological criticism goes "too far and too fast" for us in bidding us to abandon the Jewish tradition on this point as unfounded.

"Pass next to Isaiah," we are bid by Prof. Cheyne. From the start we part with Dr. Strack and his friend, Dr. Orelli, because they have been converted too recently to the side of modern criticism. Dr. Cheyne had been converted in 1870, and that after nine full years of post-graduate studies. The work called "The Book of Isaiah Chronologically Arranged" will be our guide in this new field of investigation. First, then, as to the results: 1. The plural authorship of Isaiah is certain. 2. The modern tradition of the Babylonian origin of the whole part from chapter 40 to 66 holds its ground. Not very promising results to begin with, but we must hold our judgment in suspense. Prof. Cheyne whispers into our ear that even the result number 2 will soon be beaten out of the field. The cruelty of Manasseh, who sawed Isaiah in two, is well known in tradition. History repeats itself most certainly. Not one, but many a Manasseh is, in our days, striving to the utmost to saw the prophet, not merely in two, but to cut him limb from limb, to mangle his body, to dislocate his bones, and to disfigure his whole person. "Despised and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with infirmity," Isaiah might have said of himself, suffering under the dissecting-knife of modern criticism.

But we must look more accurately at the given results. Not to mention all the theories concerning the authorship of the minor divisions of the first part of the prophet, psychologic criticism requires at least two authors of the book. Why the various parts have been combined cannot be explained. Perhaps it has been a mere oversight on the part of the collector. Who the real authors were, and who the collectors, remains also a literary mystery. Fancy

an anthology without indications of the beginning and end of each particular piece, without names of authors and collectors, and you have pretty nearly an idea of the book of Isaiah in the light of modern criticism. Davidson (*Introd.* iii., p. 61) uses our very comparison: "Like the books of Psalms and Proverbs," he says, "it is an anthology." The great unity of the work, which appears on a closer study of its sacred contents, must yield to the speculations of criticism. The identity of principles throughout the book, its uniform progress of thought, its constant application of the same rules of art, its continuous refinement of feeling and expression, its high perception of the relation between Creator and creature, its even philosophy of theocracy and human polity, its unvaried reverence for Jehovah and His anointed, all these bonds of unity are so many empty titles for our psychologic criticism. The prophet may start with the statement of his divine call "to blind the heart of this people and make their ears heavy and shut their eyes" (Is. 6, 10), and show its truthfulness to the minutest particulars in the course of his work; he may send forth his heartrending cry of sympathy: "How long, O Lord" (Is. 6, 11), when the nation is in woe, and exult in every national joy with the gladness of Him "that prepareth the way in the desert" (Is. 40, 3) and "bringeth glad tidings to Sion" (Is. 52, 7); his heart may beat from beginning to end for the glory of Jehovah and the greatness of his name; his whole book may be but a broad outline of the history of nations before and during the Messianic reign, showing that "all flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field" (Is. 40, 7). But all these arguments for the unity of the book of Isaiah and its single authorship are not indeed denied by psychologic criticism; they are ignored. Had as much labor been spent in a solid study of the prophet as has been wasted in idle dreams about his sacred writings, we should have been told ere this that the very parts of Isaiah called in question by the critics agree admirably well with the age of the prophet, while they do not fit into the later period of the exile to which they are assigned. Take, for instance, the serious warning of the prophet against idolatry. During the reigns of Achaz and Manasseh it was most timely, but after the exile it would have been entirely out of place. Again, take the argument of Isaiah for the omniscience of God, namely, the prophecy of the fall of Babylon and the restoration of the Jewish nation through Cyrus. Had these events been a matter of history when the argument was written, it might have amused the reader, but could not have convinced him. Not to mention that the prophecies of Isaiah speak of Jerusalem as still existing, of Egypt and Ethiopia as still at the height of their power, and rebuke the Jewish nation for seeking help from the nations rather than from Jehovah,

we cannot pass in silence over the fact that the later prophets, such as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, freely quote Isaiah, though they lived before the period to which modern criticism assigns the origin of the prophet's second part. It should seem, then, but reasonable that any Old Testament student, not biassed by the axioms of psychologic criticism, must agree with us in pronouncing Prof. Cheyne's results in the case of Isaiah also "too far and too fast."

The last *result* of modern Old Testament criticism pointed out by the professor is the Kuenen-Wellhausen theory of the Pentateuch. Dr. Strack has here been abandoned for his obscurity, though he is "a dry and a dull" writer. The orthodox Davids, too, obtain their share of sarcasm for not being equally skilful slingers with the shepherd-hero. The writer does not seem to consider that even if Providence has not gifted one with the skill of the sling, it is preferable to ambition David's victory than to act as Goliah's shield-bearer. Next we are informed about the glorious *results:* 1. The book of Deuteronomy, or its main part, though possibly earlier than Isaiah's time, is undoubtedly later than Solomon's. 2. Though the book contains a certain amount of the Mosaic element, this, too, has "passed through the subjectivity of the later writer," and "Deuteronomy in all its parts is a work from a single smelting." 3. The other books of the Hexateuch—for modern criticism insists on speaking of Hexateuch instead of Pentateuch—are a Mosaic of the productions of the Jehovist, and the proto-Elohist, and the priestly narratives and laws, all of which are blended into one by one or more "Redactors." If we make use of the current abbreviations, denoting the Jehovist by J, the Elohist by E, the priest-codex by P, the "Redactor" by R, Deuteronomy by D, and by J′, E′, etc., the second, third, etc., editions of the respective writings, we may express the modern critical view of the Hexateuch by the following formula:

$$\frac{\dfrac{\dfrac{J+E}{R(je)}+D}{R(d)}+P'+P''+P'''}{R}=Hexateuch.$$

That J, E, D, P and R, R′, etc., thrown in at pleasure, constitute a universal solvent of books and authors, does not seem to interest modern criticism. If Milton and Shakespeare, according to the above principles, are resolvable into various distinct authors, our critics infer that Milton and Shakespeare either never existed, or are but compilers of an anthology. The sophistry of their critical principles never occurs to our psychologists. Neither do they

consider that their work moves from beginning to end in a vicious circle. First they divide the Hexateuch into J, E, P, D and R, assigning to each his proper position, according to the supposed characteristic of each, and, the partition completed, they clap their hands and cry out "miracle." The offspring of the theory agrees with the theory, as a matter of course; if the coat made to order does not fit the person, the tailor is at fault, not the pattern. Finally, to throw a glance at the history of our critical theories, the documentary hypothesis concerning the Hexateuch has had to yield to the supplementary, though the supplementary in its turn meets more difficulties in its way than its predecessor did. We may therefore safely maintain that even in its work of predilection, the analysis of the Hexateuch, psychologic criticism has gone "too far and too fast."

Finally, Prof. Cheyne points out more definitely in which particulars he would introduce a reform. In private study we must proceed on the basis of the critical facts and results commonly admitted by the learned. In the ordinary university teaching, Old Testament criticism ought to form a special department of scientific theology; at least, no theological student should leave the university without having formed a critical and historical habit of mind. In their extraordinary teaching, universities must encourage the prosecution of inquiry on those lines which promise to be most remunerative in Old Testament criticism. In secondary schools the teachers should not treat the narratives of the Old Testament as if they were all equally historical; he must not permit the children to suppose that he knows, or that any one knows, or that the writers of Genesis knew anything about the antediluvians, or about the three supposed ancestors of the Israelites. In primary schools, though simple minds that will never be touched by modern currents of thought should not be disturbed by criticism, still positive error ought not to be propped up by deliberate inculcation; preachers ought not to give occasion to the Matthew Arnolds of the future to mock at their indifference to the truth of history, the charm of poetry and the simplicity of early religion; wherever full edification cannot be had without the knowledge of some particular result of modern criticism, that result must be given even in the pulpit. "Reproductive" pulpit-oratory should be cultivated, *i.e.*, the subject-matter of the Bible should be reproduced in the language of our own day, and applied to our own wants.

So far for the reform in the study of the Old Testament proposed by Prof. Cheyne. Any one who knows his catechism will easily detect in which particulars the proposed reform would go too far and too fast. But with the professor's errors a certain amount of truth is mixed up. To start with his suggestion concerning the

Old Testament in pulpit-oratory, it is beyond dispute that in any case and under any circumstance the word of the Old Testament is the word of God, containing within itself a hidden virtue to persuade and to move. The nature of the discourse must show whether words of praise or blame, of joy or sadness, ought to be used; whether passages that appeal to the intellect or such as stir up the passions should be quoted; but some part of the Old Testament may be used in every case, whether the orator instructs, or reasons, or inveighs against vice, or extols virtue. "All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice" (2 Tim., iii., 16). It would, indeed, be hardly possible to find anywhere in literature a collection of matter better adapted by its very nature to the pulpit than the Old Testament offers. The chastity of Joseph, the devotion of Ruth, the patience of Job, the fiery zeal of Jeremiah, the fortitude of the Machabees, the faith of Abraham and the penitential tears of David, are of themselves powerful incentives to the same virtues; but penetrated as they are with the unction of the Holy Ghost, they pierce the hardest of hearts, and enlighten the darkest of minds. And again, the promise of a coming conqueror of the serpent, of a future blessing to all the nations of the earth, of a star rising out of the house of Jacob, a ruler springing from the seed of David, whose mother is a virgin, whose shoulders bear the world's empire, whose heart is filled with the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Ghost, who is not merely king, but prophet, too, and, above all, priest, pouring out his life-blood for the redemption of sinners, and sprinkling many nations with the blood of atonement, such a priestly prophet-king presents a lovely picture, indeed; but frame it in the fire-frame of the prophet's language, illuminate it with the divine light of prophetic vision, enliven it with the keen religious feeling, nay, the exstatic love of the Old Testament prophets, and you will kindle in the most worldly minds and hearts a holy enthusiasm for the standard of Christ, your hearers will leave you with the feelings of the Apostles, who went forth rejoicing because they had been deemed worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus (Acts, 5, 41).

St. Augustine insists on this point not once, but again and again, in clear and forcible language. In his work, "De Doct. Christ." (l. ii., 8), he says: "Totas legerit nostasque habuerit, etsi non intellectu, tamen lectione;" and in another passage of the same work (l. iv., 5) he maintains: "Sapienter dicet tanto magis vel minus, quanto in scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit." In the first passage the preacher is told that he ought at least to read the whole of Sacred Scripture, in the second he is informed that his preaching will be effective in proportion to his knowledge of Sacred Scripture. What would the great doctor have said of those preachers whose whole

Bible knowledge consists in a judicious use of a Concordance or a Thesaurus Biblicus? Not as if the use of these books were not worthy of commendation, so far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. Both the Bible Concordance and the Thesaurus are valuable aids in the study of the Scriptures; they assist us greatly in the study of parallel passages for the purpose of finding the true meaning of a word or of a phrase or of a whole verse, but neither source is intended or competent to supply the study and knowledge of the Bible. What everybody admits with regard to other branches of learning seems to be obscure when it is applied to the Bible. The foreigner who speaks book-English or uses dictionary-language is smiled at; but the messenger of God who preaches Concordance-sermons is defended by a novel-reading generation of sermonizers.

Nor is reading and study of the Old Testament the only point that we must insist on in the case of the pulpit orator; he must moreover live and feel the Scriptures over again. Prof. Cheyne has told us that the preacher ought to "reproduce" the Old Testament in the language of our day. The prophet Ezekiel had been told something very similar by Almighty God Himself: "Comede volumen istud, et vadens loquere filiis Israel." St. Jerome, clothing this command of God in the language of his time, renders it thus: "Devour this holy book by assiduous study, digest it by deep meditation, cause it to become part of your very substance, before you presume to preach to my holy people" (Ez. iii., 1). Unless the pulpit orator is thus imbued with the spirit of the sacred writings, he may speak with the tongues of men and angels, still he is but "as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal." He preaches at best but the word of man, not of God; and the word of God alone has the living force to inflame the heart with heavenly desires and to move it to practical resolutions. The unity of the Pentateuch, the historical exactness of the books of Kings and Chronicles, the futuristic system of Daniel and Ezekiel, Isaiah's philosophy on pleasure and pain, one and all of these subjects furnish, no doubt, interesting topics for the lecture-room; but unless the hearts of the audience are filled with the sentiments that filled the soul of Moses and Samuel and Joshua and all other inspired writers of the Old Testament, the practical result will be naught, "vox et præterea nihil."

It seems plain that this knowledge and love of the Old Testament cannot be acquired in a day; the young Levite's soul must be prepared for this work from early youth. Not as if the Bible pure and simple were to be read in our elementary schools, nor as if in early youth deep biblical researches could be followed up; but an interesting Bible history, with illustrations or without, should form one of the principal text-books of our primary schools. Joseph's

captivity and Jacob's sorrow, the martyrdom of the seven brothers, and the heroism of their afflicted mother, the charity of Tobias and the fortitude of Judith, have brought tears of compassion and admiration into the eyes of many a young reader. Whether the Bible history takes the place of one or more readers, or whether it forms one of the historical text-books of the elementary school, is of little importance, provided it be studied thoroughly and lovingly. It is not the future priest only who is benefited by such reading; the Christian layman also will thus acquire a store of divine knowledge that will be apt to influence his future life for the better in whatever circumstances he may find himself placed.

In our college courses the study of the Old Testament might assume a wider range. In the history classes, the history of Bible times should be compared with the history that has come down to us in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions; in geography, the discoveries of the late excavations should be placed side by side with the biblical geography; in literary studies, the literature of the Semitic races, and of the Jews above all, should be discussed as profoundly as the history of the literature of other nations. And why should we disregard scripture poetry while we spend hours and days in fixing the canons of Latin and Greek quantities and metre? But it is especially in the religious instruction that the true importance of the Old Testament ought to be more fully explained. There the professor has every opportunity of showing the relation of the Old to the New Testament as type to antetype, promise to fulfilment, shadow to reality. Not as if the New Testament absolutely needed the Old in order to be understood; nor as if the Old Testament might have carried on its supernatural economy without reference to the New; but we learn many things from a picture, the Old Testament, for instance, which escape us in the original, and we practically study the sunlight in its dispersed and reflected state, unable to bear the glare of the sun itself. In the same way will the youthful heart learn many features of the new law from the corresponding types of the old. The history of the passion and death of Christ for the sins of the world is impressive, indeed; but when we understand the full importance of the paschal-lamb and the scape-goat, and apply these to their antetype, the prayer, "Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world," has a new meaning for us.

To teach the New Testament by means of the Old is not something new in the Church of Christ. St. Paul employed the same method of instruction, especially in his Epistle to the Hebrews. After briefly calling to mind the Divinity of Christ, the Apostle goes on to explain the excellency of the Christian faith. First, the Christian law is compared with the law of the Old Testament,

legislator with legislator, promulgator with promulgator, obedience with obedience. In the New Dispensation there is no longer question of angels or men or saints, but of Him whom the angels adore as their God. In the second place, the Apostle proceeds to develop the excellency of the Christian priesthood. Here, too, the priests and sacrifices and atonement of the Old Testament are brought in contrast with the priest and sacrifice and atonement of the New. Melchizedek and Aaron and the Jewish High Priest dwindle into insignificance before the majesty of Christ. Rams and buck goats and oxen hardly bear mention when they are contrasted with the blood of the Lamb. The morning, noonday and evening sacrifices of the old law effect a mere legal sanctification, while "Christ was offered once to exhaust the sins of many" (Heb. 9, 28). If, then, St. Paul thought it advisable to instruct his brethren in the New Testament mysteries by comparing these to the observances of the Old Testament, why should we Christian priests and prophets hesitate to follow the same method? We do not address Gentiles and pagans who might misunderstand and misapply our instruction; our audience has been steeped in a Christian civilization for centuries.

Finally, a word must be added concerning the teaching of the Old Testament in our ecclesiastical seminaries. Without saying anything about the method to be followed in the Scripture classes,—for that would be to interfere with the several professors of Sacred Scripture,—we venture to draw attention to a more thorough study of the original languages. Not to be able to become a first-rate authority in matters of Hebrew and the other Oriental languages, is no reason for neglecting such a study entirely. Unless its possessor be a fool, a little knowledge is not always a dangerous thing. It is, of course, preferable to sing well; but even a slight acquaintance with Gregorian music is, in a "Missa Cantata," preferable to no knowledge of music at all. But what has all the lucidity of a first principle in other branches of learning, seems to be unintelligible in the case of Hebrew. True, we may read most of the theological arguments based on difficult or disputed Hebrew texts in special treatises, written in Latin, or even in the vernacular, but without at least a slight acquaintance with Hebrew we shall not be able to understand even the difficulty, much less the solution. It is also very well to appeal to the Vulgate, declared to be an authentic translation by the Council of Trent; but neither Protestants nor any other earlier sects acknowledge the Council of Trent as having authority in this matter. At any rate, a scholar is ashamed to acknowledge his inability to read Homer or Horace or Pindar in the original; and shall a Catholic priest, the authoritative interpreter of the word of God, confess, without a blush, that

he must take his information at second-hand? Second-hand, we say, not with regard to the divine element in the Old Testament, but with regard to everything human.

Finally, a word concerning Prof. Cheyne's alternative; if, indeed, there really is the alternative between reform in the teaching of the Old Testament and a loss of it for the Christian people, we would say that the true reform consists in bringing the Old Testament more widely before our Christian community, not as subject to the principles of psychologic criticism, but as the living word of God; for we know from the lips of God himself: "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass away" (Matth. 24, 35).

THE TRADITION OF THE GENTILES.

IT frequently occurs that intelligent unbelievers cite, in evidence of the semi-pagan character of the Catholic Church, the fact that her doctrines and forms are, in many instances, very similar to the ideas and practices of heathen nations. That striking similarities do exist all scholars now admit, and even the direct historic connection of certain Christian ceremonies with their pagan counterparts has been clearly established. There are otherwise well-instructed Catholics who sometimes tremble as such evidences are forced upon their minds, and who would be utterly at a loss to repel a vigorous attack from this quarter by a thoroughly trained antagonist. In such cases it is one false idea, common to both, which furnishes a weapon to the assailant of Christian doctrine, and renders vulnerable the armor of its champion. This has been an element in every dogmatic form of heresy, and, though not itself heretical, is so essentially un-Catholic that it cannot co-exist in a single mind with any proper conception of the true dignity of the Church of God, or its real nature and mission. The error is briefly this: that Christianity claims to be the exclusive possessor of divine truth, which was revealed from heaven for the first time to the writers of the Bible or to the twelve Apostles, and considers all other systems as utterly false, and their practices, as such, reprehensible. If the Church made this claim it would be unable to maintain its position. Many of the teachings of our Lord are but repetitions of the maxims of much more ancient oriental sages;

and there is scarcely an element in the Catholic doctrine or ritual which cannot be found in some of the philosophies or religions of the Gentile world.

When this fact is once apparent, the same process of reasoning which Christian sectarians use against the Catholic Church makes it equally serviceable to those who argue that all religions are merely ingenious theories by which our early progenitors sought to account for the phenomena of nature, and which, with the growing light of science, are banished farther and farther from the region cognizable by the senses and the intellect, until at last compelled to take refuge beyond the confines of the universe in the realm of the forever unknowable; or that they are systems devised and maintained by a few crafty men who turn to their own advantage the ignorant fears aroused in the multitude by the tempest, the earthquake, the innumerable forms of disease, and the awful imminency of death.[1]

The alternative of this terrible conclusion is to be found in the dictum of St. Augustine: "What is now called the Christian religion has existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh; from which time the true religion, which existed already, began to be called Christian."[2] This view may be expressed in other words as follows: The first parents of the race received from God a revelation which, though pictured in dimmer outline, coincided very nearly with the truths of which the Catholic Church is to-day the guardian; and it is this revelation, the true Catholic faith, which underlies every system of the world.

The present chaos of discordant and often horrible beliefs and practices are the result of the varying kinds and degrees of corruption which this sacred deposit underwent when left to the unaided reason and memory of fallen man. As Catholic savants have always more or less explicitly recognized this truth, it will not here be necessary to cite authorities. The subject has never been thoroughly studied on account of the inaccessibility of the most important materials and the lack of Catholic thinkers inclined to devote themselves to it; but the first of these difficulties, thanks to the indefatigable labors of modern orientalists, has been removed, and the time seems to be near when, by the comprehensive study of the religious systems of the world from the standpoint of revealed truth, a new science of *hierology* will be developed, which will result, as all scientific investigation must sooner or later do, in the triumphant vindication of the universal religion. The present article has the aim simply to call popular attention to the polemic

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[1] See Tylor's *Primitive Culture.*

[2] St. Augustine, *Retractations*, l., 13.

importance of the Augustinian view, answering, at the same time, some possible objections, and taking a glance at a few of the evidences which may be cited in its support.

The theory of the descent of all religions from an original perfect and divinely revealed system implies, in opposition to a large school of modern anthropologists, a tendency towards degeneration in the whole human race. To the objection of evolutionists that there is no reason to exempt man alone from the operation of the universal law of progressive development by which other species are governed, it may be replied that in the fall the upward current was broken by the intervention of the obstacle of human freedom between the divine force which had hitherto throbbed unimpeded through every vein of nature, and the human activities which were destined to be the very flowering of creative energy. This view of the fall would leave our theory of social degeneracy intact, even though the descent of the human body from a progressive series of animal progenitors should be admitted. Let it be noted, however, that the structural affinities between the lower races of man and the anthropoid apes, which are chiefly relied upon as proof of his simian descent, may be accounted for with equal facility by the operation of the laws of adaptation to environment and of correlation of structure upon those degraded races who, at the dawn of the human epoch, had obscured in the ashes of animalism the lights of intuition and of historic revelation.

The first men may have been characterized by the maximum of intellectual and intuitional power, and even been in possession of a lofty and perfect religious system, without possessing or speedily acquiring a high degree of material civilization, perhaps thinking it better to rise above vulgar wants than to endeavor, with the Baconians, to supply them; yet it seems more probable that, under such circumstances, many useful arts would have very soon been discovered, and the theory of the remote antiquity of civilization must therefore be esteemed as an important outpost of our position.

The evidence which has been collected by ethnologists of the school of Tylor and Lubbock in support of progressive development is counterbalanced by the numerous facts which have come to light bearing a contrary significance.[1] It is admitted, on all hands, that there have been fluctuations in the tide of progress; there have been ebbs and flows, and a thousand little eddies have broken the unity of the current and made it difficult to determine its direction. Here are a few problems which the progressionists

[1] Winchell, *Preadamites*, pp. 277–280. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, pp. 181–186.

would find it hard to solve. The Hottentots and Bushmen represent the very lowest stage of human existence; their physical resemblance to the gorilla is appalling.[1] Yet they are the only members of the negro race who have produced any enduring monuments of pictorial art;[2] and, though a dissection of their brains shows the speech centre to be in a singularly defective condition,[3] they possess a comparatively complex and polished language which presents some resemblances to that of ancient Egypt.[4] The most degraded races of the western continent likewise show some evidences of having sprung from a nobler stock.

We find in the prehistoric records of European man at least one remarkable example of deterioration. The men of the Reindeer Epoch possessed great artistic skill, and some of their carvings upon ivory are really beautiful;[5] but their descendants, the lake dwellers, have left no evidences of any capacity for imitative art.[6]

The Crow Indians of the Rocky Mountains, and the Alto Peruvians of the Andes, from whom the other aborigines, Mr. Catlin says, claim descent, are distinguished above them all for the amplitude of their foreheads, caused by the development of the frontal lobe of the brain.[7] Even the Man of Calaveras, whose fossilized remains are said to have been found in the Pliocene gravel, "under the solid basalt of Table Mountain," is shown by the measurements of his skull to have been of superior intelligence.[8]

Rev. Richard Taylor, F.G.S., who resided in New Zealand as a missionary for more than thirty years, states that the Maoris had degenerated exceedingly since the days of Captain Cook, notably in the arts of boat-building and weaving; and that they have traditions of the time when cannibalism was never heard of and war was unfrequent, and when a regal government yet existed among

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[1] Winchell, *Preadamites*, pp. 171, 250, 253, 254.

[2] "The Bushmen are said to have painted the cliffs from the Cape of Good Hope to beyond the Orange River with figures of men and animals in red, bronze, white, and black colors, or etched them in light tints on a dark ground. These are said to have been done with great firmness of hand, and copies of them show a fidelity to nature equal to some of the Egyptian delineations."—Winchell, *Preadamites*, p. 256, note.

[3] H. D. Rolliston, in describing the cerebral hemispheres of an adult male Australian, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, August, 1887, says: "The island of Reil is exposed on the left side; this exposure is a condition found in primitive brains; thus Marshall (*Phil. Trans.*, 1884) figures it in the brain of a Bushwoman and quotes other examples. The exposure of the island of Reil implies that the surrounding gyri are ill developed. Broca's convolution is thus shown to be defective."—*American Anthropologist*, January, 1888.

[4] Winchell, *Preadamites*, p. 71; and Peschel, *Races of Men*, pp. 457, 458.

[5] Rau, *Early Man in Europe*, pp. 59, 75, 78, 103–105.

[6] *Id.*, p. 78.

[7] Catlin, *Last Rambles*, p. 248.

[8] See Winchell, *Preadamites*, pp. 427, 428.

them; and he says of their language that "its fulness, its richness, showing a close affinity, not only in words but in grammar, with the Sanskrit, carries the mind back to a time when literature could not have been unknown.[1]

Even among the Greeks there appear evidences of a prehistoric civilization higher in some respects than that of their historic period; the geographical knowledge of Homer was greater than that of Herodotus or any later writer;[2] and Pythagoras, who was pre-eminently the disciple of antiquity, possessed a scientific and general knowledge which far surpassed that of many of his contemporaries or successors, and which is being newly emphasized with every advance which inductive science is making among us.[3]

A leading element in the progressionist delusion is the custom of largely ignoring history and tradition, and assuming that the lowest degree of savagery manifested by contemporary races represents the most ancient phase of culture. It is then easy to read in the ascending series of intermediate conditions the history of civilization. Very many of the current scientific treatises on the subject are based exclusively upon this assumption, by reversing which they might, with equal propriety, be read backwards, and the gamut of progress run in the descending scale. The current ideas regarding the sequence of the palæolithic, neolithic, bronze, and iron ages, rest upon very narrow foundations, and probably will ere long be decently interred by the side of the innumerable corpses which fill the graveyards of scientific speculation.[4]

There are abundant evidences of the nature of the progress which has taken place in matters of religion. Changes of the most marked kind have occurred in the religions of Europe and Asia since the beginning of the historic period, and outside of the Catholic Church they have been always from better to worse. Even Max Müller admits a primitive theism of which polytheism was a corruption.[5] The ancient oriental literatures all tell the same story regarding the original religions and social conditions of the countries nearest to the birthplace of the race.

The earliest monuments of Egypt represent a period when the soundest ethical principles were taught and practised, and when no degrading creature-worship had detracted from the honor due

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[1] Taylor, *Te Ika a Mani, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, pp. 5, 6.

[2] See Sir Godfrey Higgins, *Celtic Druids*, 104.

[3] For example, he recognized the real nature of the solar system, and taught the revolution of the earth around the sun. See *American Cyclopedia*, article Pythagoras.

[4] See Dr. W. H. Dall, in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. i., pp. 47, 48; Lord Arundel, of Wardour, *Tradition*, pp. 289–297; and Thébaud, *Gentilism*, pp. 64–70.

[5] Müller, *Chips*, vol. i., pp. 351–359.

to the one eternal deity, whom they called Amun, the Hidden One. The oldest hieroglyphic papyrus which has been yet discovered, a moral treatise by the high official, Pthah-Hotep, dated by some scholars from three to four thousand years B.C., has for its most striking feature "the simple and beautiful didactics of filial piety."[1] Not until the 18th dynasty (1703–1462 B.C.) had the insidious growth of pantheism so obscured in Egypt the primitive revelation as to allow the intrusion of idolatrous emblems into her temples and her sculptured records.[2] The writings of Hermes Trismegistus,[3] though already tainted with pantheism, prove conclusively the high degree of religious enlightenment which existed among the early Egyptians.

Still more plainly does the patriarchal religion manifest itself in the Rig Veda (1500–1200 B.C.), and in the earliest portions of the Zend Avesta (about 1300 B.C.). The former work teaches explicitly in many places the unity of the godhead. For example, "They called him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni; then he is the beautiful-winged heavenly Garutmat; that which is one, the wise call it, in divers manners; they call it Agni, Yama, Mâtarisnan."[4] The holy Rishis or patriarchs who wrote the Veda loved to call upon God as Brahma, the Adorable One, and spoke of Him as a Christian of to-day might do. "What the sun and light are to this visible world, that is the supreme good and truth to the intellectual and invisible universe; and as our corporal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire sure knowledge by meditating on the light of truth which emanates from the Being of beings; this is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path of beatitude." "Without hand or foot He runs rapidly, and grasps firmly; without eyes He sees; without ears He hears all; He knows whatever can be known, and there is no one who knows Him; Him the wise call the great, supreme, pervading Spirit."[5] The authors of the Rig Veda believed in the personal immortality of the soul and its eternal reward or punishment, in the resurrection of the body and the last judgment. They honored the Virgin of the Dawn, and in their worship of Mitra mingled recollections of the archangel Michael with the Messianic traditions which afterwards were expressed still more distinctly in the myth of Chrishna. Their moral codes resembled that of Moses, and they exalted the value of almsgiving. They considered the offering of sacrifices as necessary to

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[1] See Johnson, *Oriental Religions, China*, p. 533.
[2] Thébaud, *Gentilism*, p. 252.
[3] *Id*, pp. 211–226.
[4] Rig Veda, I., 164, 165.
[5] Cited by Thébaud, *Gentilism*, p. 138.

salvation, and found in the sacred banquet of Soma an earnest of the eternal enjoyment of the Divinity.[1]

The great prophet Zoroaster planted himself so firmly on the rock of patriarchal tradition that all the usurpations of Magism and the inroads of various idolatrous systems have never succeeded in drawing away the religion which bears his name from the main truths of Revelation. Professing only to maintain the pure religion of old against growing corruptions, he recognized one God, Ahura-Mazda, the Bright Spirit, surrounded by angelic hosts, and having a council of six archangels, besides Mithra (St. Michael), the angel of the sun and the champion of divine truth, and Graosha (St. Gabriel), the messenger of divine revelations and the especial dispenser of heavenly blessings. Angro-mainyus, the Dark Spirit, the Great Serpent, was the leader of the fallen angels, and was destined to be overcome by Mithra, with whom he was continually at war. The fall and the curse, heaven and hell and purgatory, the judgment, and the resurrection of the body, all find their place in the Persian theology, while sacrifice, the Soma feast, and prayer for the dead, form part of the practical side of the same system.[2] In the Persian ethics, "truth, charity, purity, and industry were the virtues chiefly valued and inculcated. Evil was traced to its root in the heart of man, and it was distinctly taught that no virtue deserved the name but such as was co-extensive with the whole sphere of human activity, including the thought as well as the word and the deed. The purity required was inward as well as outward, mental as well as bodily."[3]

The path towards polytheism lay through the *via media* of pantheism, but the process was expedited by the gradual disintegration of peoples and of ideas, which caused local names of the Deity to be considered as representing separate beings, or gave distinct individuality to what were, at first, only His attributes or manifestations of His power. The Hebrews, as far as we know, never fell into the error of imagining that El Shaddai, Elohim, Adonai, and Yahveh were the names of different divinities; but this is exactly what happened in India with Dhaus, Varuna, Indra, and Brahma; and the same had occurred in Chaldea, where the religious degradation had been speedy and great. In the latter country, though God (El or Il) was still spoken of, He was considered too mysterious and distant a being for common intercourse; and those to whom divine honors were paid were partly deified men like Bil-Nipru (Nimrod) and Hoa (Noe), or angels like Ana (Lucifer), and partly personifications of divine works or attri-

[1] See Müller, *Chips*, vol. i., pp. 46, 47.

[2] Rawlinson, *Five Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii., pp. 101, 114–117.

[3] *Id.*, vol. iii., p. 113.

butes, as Sin, San, and Iva. After this process of segregation is well under way, the religion takes the form which Max Müller calls hathenatheism,[1] and each name, in turn, is invoked as representing the greatest of the gods, the ruler of heaven and earth, and the names are sometimes used interchangeably, though the people already understand them to represent distinct personalities. On this point Rawlinson said, several years ago, in speaking of the Chaldean mythology: "It may be suspected from such instances of connection and quasi-convertibility that an esoteric doctrine, known to the priests and communicated by them to the kings, taught the real identity of the several gods and goddesses, who may have been understood by the better instructed to represent, not distinct and separate beings, but the several phases of the Divine nature. Ancient polytheism had, it may be surmised, to a great extent this origin, the various names and titles of the Supreme, which designated His divine attributes or the different spheres of His operation, coming by degrees to be misunderstood and to pass, first with the vulgar, and at last with all but the most enlightened, for the appellations of a number of gods."[2] Later researches are said to have brought to light many new evidences that Chaldea possessed a monotheistic religion resembling, in numerous points, that of the Jews.

The religious history of Phœnicia is similar to that of Chaldea.

The monotheism of early Greece, both before and after the Ionian migration, comes down to us in the Orphic books, whose genuineness has been ably vindicated by Father Thébaud,[3] and in the philosophies of Pythagoras and Plato, who were distinguished among the Greek thinkers by their reverence for tradition and their acknowledgment of indebtedness to it.[4] The works of both the Greek and Latin poets, and pre-eminently those of Æschylus, preserved likewise many of the divine traditions of patriarchal days.[5] The higher we ascend into Greek antiquity the more prominently stands out before us "the idea of God as the Supreme Being, the Father of the heavens and the Father of men"; and Zeus, the Glorious One, was worshipped with a simplicity and singleness of intention which we must, even to-day, regard with admiration.[6] Father Formby has given a valuable contribution to this subject in his "Primitive Monotheism of Rome," from which it appears that Numa Pompilius possessed a knowledge of the true religion, and laid the foundations of Roman institutions deep in the abiding rock of divine truth.

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[1] Müller, *Chips*, vol. i., pp. 27, 29.
[2] Rawlinson, *Five Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii., 460.
[3] Thébaud, *Gentilism*, pp. 285, 306.
[4] *Id.*, pp. 365–392.
[5] *Id.*, pp. 393–435.
[6] See Müller, *Chips*, vol. ii., pp. 15, 148, 152.

In the Eddas of the Scandinavians the Hebrew Adonai reappears as Odin, called Alfadur, the king of heaven and earth, whose son, Baldur the Fair, is the subject of some of the most beautiful Messianic traditions found out of the possession of the chosen people. Heaven and hell, the angels and the demons, the resurrection and the judgment, and all the doctrines of partriarchal Catholicity appear here; and if we interrogate the Druids we find the Celtic tribes in possession of the same body of truth.[1]

Most of the Turanian and Negro peoples fell respectively into atheism and polytheism many thousand years ago, but even among them we find evidences of the universal religion. The ancient Chinese were worshippers of Tien or Shang-te, the God of Heaven, and the Messianic legend finds its embodiment in the story of "How-tseih, born of a pure virgin who has trodden in the footprint of God after praying for a child, and whose delivery is without pains; exposed in a narrow place, where the oxen and sheep protect Him; in a forest where the woodmen find Him; in the ice where the birds cover Him and respond to His infant cries. Majestic even in babyhood; in childhood planting grain, raising pulse, wheat, and hemp, which He teaches the people to cultivate that they may bear them home for an offering."[2] The elevated tone of the Chinese ethical systems is well known.

It is not possible within the limits of a single article to follow out many of the details of Catholic doctrine revealed in the remains of every civilized nation of antiquity, or to even glance at the proofs of the fact that the ancestors of those nations now the most barbarous were once equally enlightened. If we should turn to the Aztecs and the Toltecs and the Mayas of the New World, we would find that they possessed many Catholic traditions before their first discovery by Europeans; and an analysis of the religious customs of the hunting tribes of America, as well as of the more degraded Polynesians and Africans, would reveal the traces of the truths which they have long since forgotten. The use of the egg and the boat in religious ceremonies, and the practice of burying the dead in a sitting posture, may be mentioned as instances of these fossilized ideas.[3]

The summing up of the whole subject is this: The Catholic Church of to-day is the representative, not only of the Christianity of Christ, but of the patriarchal religion which was once spread throughout the inhabited world. Everything good and true which exists between the poles is her rightful property; and no idea or practice which has its root deep in the needs and aspirations of

[1] See Sir Godfrey Higgins, *Celtic Druids*.

[2] From the Shi-King. See Johnson, *Oriental Religions, China*, p. 545.

[3] Lord Arundel of Wardour, *Tradition*, pp. 306–309.

mankind can fail to find its place within her all-embracing care. The various cults of heathendom are, then, only older and more degenerate heresies; and the Catholic, from whatever nation or sect he may have sprung, may rest in the assurance that he is but maintaining the religion of his remotest ancestors; and, secure in his adherence to the universal traditions of the human race, he can afford to despise alike the narrowness of heresy, the provincialism of false religions, and the ignorance of the enemies of all religion, pointing the adherents of such systems to their own glorious past as the completest refutation of their errors.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY AND RUSSIAN SECTS.

I.

ONE of the most striking characteristics of Russian sects is the extreme simplicity of the doctrines to which they give special prominence and the clearness of the issue between them and the "Orthodox" creed. In this respect they stand out in strong contrast to the sects of the early Church. They are not the outcome of disputes on obscure questions of metaphysics or of speculative theology, for their founders were men of the people, with no pretensions to learning. They can boast of no Manes, of no Pelagius, of no Abelard. The soil of Russia was as little favorable to the growth of metaphysics as that of ancient India was propitious to history. The Church, however, does not appear to have suffered much from this circumstance, as philosophy has never been called upon to supply arms to the assailants or defenders of Russian Christianity. The schismatic creeds inherited the chief characteristics of the Church from which they sprang—a Church justly celebrated for strict fidelity to its ancient liturgy, and for the gorgeous pomp of its ceremonies, and which has always appealed with marked success to the senses, if not to the intellects, of the people. There is nothing, therefore, very strange in the circumstance that none of the sects which have issued from that Church have much to do with theology, while some of them have quite as little to do with Christianity.

The absence of the metaphysical element in the theology of Russian Churches is as natural as the absence of snow at the

tropics, and will certainly not surprise those who have even a slight knowledge of Russian history. The lively horror of education, of enlightenment in any form, which was successfully instilled into the minds of the people by their rulers—who, it must be confessed, generally practised what they so zealously preached—lies at the root of this and of many other curious phenomena of Russian history. Even at the present day a careful examination of the statistics of elementary instruction in that country would not be suggestive of very cheerful reflections to any but sanguine patriots, and it should be borne in mind that the Russia of to-day is in that respect to the Russia of two hundred years ago as dazzling light is to impenetrable darkness. The kind of truth which is stranger than fiction would so far predominate in any description of Russian society of the seventeenth century, when the Schismatics first openly separated themselves from the Orthodox Church, that to readers unacquainted with Russian history it would seem tainted with unpardonable exaggeration. The term "dark ages" might with perfect propriety be applied to a very long period of the history of that country, if it had not been identified with an epoch in the annals of western nations which was in comparison an age of enlightenment and of unparalleled intellectual progress. During that long period, whatever semblance of learning leavened the ignorance of the masses was centred in the clergy; and it is only fair to add that it cannot be dignified even with this modest title without an abuse of terms.

As the schismatic movement and the sects into which it branched derived their character less from the tendencies of a theological or philosophical school than from the moral, intellectual, and social forces at work among the people, it will be needful to draw at least a rough sketch of that society which was merely the sum of those combined negative forces. Ignorance, the worship of hollow forms, and immorality were the chief characteristics of that extraordinary age, and to an extent, and in a degree, which would justify the use of stronger, more expressive, terms, if they existed. There is a degree of intensity in every vice and virtue which removes it as far from what its name usually implies as a difference in kind, and the distinctive characteristics of Russian society during the period in question were all in this degree. Its intellectual darkness was Cimmerian; its form worship vied with that of the Kalmucks in its elaborate thoroughness; and Wycherley and the Duchess of Cleveland would have stood aghast at the beastliness and cynicism of its immorality.

In the sixteenth century not a single school existed in all Russia for the education of candidates for the priesthood, or, indeed, for any other purpose. The ignorance of the professional guides and

teachers of the people assumed colossal proportions. In districts as large as England it was impossible to find in any of the monasteries with which they were studded a single monk who could read or write.[1] The metropolitan of Novgorod, Aphonius, complains to an abbot, Marcellus, that he cannot get a monk in any of the monasteries fitted to undertake the duties of bursar, not, indeed, for want of monks, but because "they cannot read or write, and are given to drink."[2] Nor could the secular clergy boast of any superiority over their monastic brethren. The bishops constantly ordained peasants who not only were ignorant of the elements of reading and writing, but who had not the slightest wish to be taught. It is instructive and highly amusing to read the dismal account which Gennadius, Archbishop of Novgorod (1485–1501), gives of his experience in this respect, and his doleful complaints of the unwillingness of candidates for ordination to learn to read the Psalter. Some of them, he assures us, could not get their tongue round certain of the words in prayers which it would be their duty to offer up in public.[3] Many of them, however, were gifted enough to master the secrets of astrology and magic sufficiently to spread falsehood and superstition and fatalism among the people confided to their care.[4]

Two hundred years afterwards, Demetrius, Metropolitan of Rostoff (1703–1709), a saint of the Orthodox Church, and an implacable enemy of the Schismatics, has a similar tale to tell. He was intimately acquainted with the intellectual and moral condition of the clergy throughout Russia, and he has left on record some interesting personal experiences which enable us to estimate the fitness of the ecclesiastics of the eighteenth century to discharge the duties of their office. In his time the clergy were either ignorant of sacred history, or had only such a confused smattering of it as was more misleading than downright ignorance. "One abbot asked me," he tells us, "whether the prophet Elijah lived before or after the birth of Christ." Another inquired: "Did not the Maccabees live after the Apostles, inasmuch as their teacher Eliazar, in the presence of his tormentor, quoted words of the Gospel which are printed in the Moscow breviary for the first of August?" "I heard much more ridiculous talk," continues the saint, "among the clergy; for example, 'with what knife did St. Peter cut off Malchus's ear? Was it not with the knife which the prophet Elijah *afterwards* used to slay the priests of Baal?' etc."[5] This, it

[1] Collection of Episcopal Documents, cited by Schtschapoff, *cf. The Russian Schism*, Kazan, 1859, p. 187. [2] *Ibidem.*

[3] Historical Documents, vol. i, No. 104. See Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[4] Supplement to Historical Documents, i., No. 151; *cf.* Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[5] *Ancient Russian Library*, Part xvii., p. 86, 87, cited by Schtschapoff, *Russian Schism*, p. 194.

must not be forgotten, was in the beginning of last century, when matters were mending. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries even such conversations could not have been carried on by clergymen of the Orthodox Church. The knowledge they presuppose was at that time wholly beyond their reach. The most competent judges tell us so, and they had no reason to exaggerate the facts. The Fathers of the Council of Moscow, in the deliberations of which the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria took a prominent part (1667), solemnly declared, with more force than refinement, that "country boors are admitted into the ranks of the clergy who are not fit to graze cattle, much less to (spiritually) feed a flock of human souls."[1] It would be a mistake to suppose that the higher dignitaries of the Church were generally much better informed than their subordinates. Isidore, metropolitan of Russia, assured Pope Eugene—and history fully bears out his statement—that Russian bishops "were not book learned";[2] and Macarius, the orthodox historian of the Russian Church, himself a bishop, states the case moderately, as might be expected, when he informs us that many of the bishops and archbishops of those days "were not qualified to teach the people the truths of religion."[3] Arsenius, coadjutor of the archimandrite Dionysius, writing to the Coyar, Saltykoff, tells him that the "best archimandrites and priests do not differ in anything from ignorant louts and rustics"; and referring to the censors of the ecclesiastical press, who generally included some of the most learned of the clergy, he asserts that they are equally "ignorant of orthodoxy and of heterodoxy, and know the Holy Writ only by the look of the ink."[4]

Christianity, it must be confessed, never burned with a very pure or bright light in Russia, from its first introduction down to the period in question. The motley, incongruous elements with which it was adulterated, at first weakened and afterwards utterly destroyed its influence for good, and in less than two centuries after the death of Prince Vladimir it had ceased to appeal to the intellect, the conscience, or the feelings of the people. The Orthodox Church, even in its palmiest days, was never—as the Latin Church often was—a strong barrier against oppression, and it soon ceased to be even a source of consolation in misery or a safe refuge for the downtrodden and the wretched from blank despair. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Christianity, as a living organization, no longer existed; its place was taken by corruption of the coarsest and most repulsive kind—the hybrid offspring of the union of

[1] Supplement to Historical Documents, v. 473; *cf.* Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
[2] Macarius, *History of the Russian Church*, vol. v., p. 257.
[3] Macarius, *ibid.*
[4] *Cf.* Schtschapoff, *Russian Schism*, p. 190.

some of the forms of Christianity with the beliefs, traditions and practices of Paganism. The slavish attachment to the letter of Christianity—or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say, to a certain portion of the letter—which distinguished the people and the lower orders of the clergy, was scarcely less characteristic of the higher dignitaries of the Church, and an archbishop of Novgorod solemnly proclaimed that whereas "many sing Allelujah twice instead of thrice, they sing unto sin and damnation to themselves."[1] The Council of Moscow, which was convened in the year 1656 to decide some disputed points which had but little connection with theology, after mature deliberation invoked heavy curses on all who presumed to make the sign of the cross with two fingers instead of three,[2] although the Patriarch, Joseph, who died four years before, had countenanced this practice by his example.[3] Indeed, so thoroughly did this worship of hollow forms permeate all classes of society that the very annalists, accustomed as they were to chronicle murders, intestine wars, and deeds of ferocious cruelty, considered it incumbent on them to make such important entries as the following: "In that same winter some philosophers began to pray thus: '*O* Lord, be merciful'; whereas others prayed thus: 'Lord, be merciful.'"[4]

This scrupulous solicitude for the strict observance of the forms of Christianity extended, however, only to such of them as fitted in with the habits and inclinations of the age; for religion, or its substitute, far from permeating and moulding the character of the people, was itself modified and even wholly transformed by customs and traditions that had been handed down from pagan times. Thus in many parts of Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the clergy and the people had given up the practice of going to church, not only on Sundays and holy days but on such festivals as Christmas Day and Easter Sunday; so that at length Peter the Great in a ukase dated February, 1718, had to command his lukewarm subjects—ecclesiastical and lay—to appear in church on Sundays and to confess their sins once a year.[5] Under such circumstances one can readily believe the statement of a competent historian, that "a countless multitude" were wholly ignorant of, and indifferent to, the teachings of Christianity, could not recite the Lord's Prayer, and were unconscious of the difference between the Deity and the wretched daubs that disfigured the walls of their huts.[6]

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[1] *Cf.* Schtschapoff, *Russian Schism*, p. 190.
[2] Macarius, *Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 157–158.
[3] Macarius, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
[4] *The Four Annals of Novgorod*, 130.
[5] Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
[6] *Ibid.*

Other churches, no doubt, have their periods of darkness, of relaxation, of moral eclipse, and it would be unfair to lay too much stress on what are for most of them mere episodes in their history. There are depths and abysses which most of them have never sounded. But the Orthodox Church of Russia seems to have descended to the bottom of them all.

The Russian clergy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were steeped in the dregs of moral degradation for which no adequate name exists in our language. They frequently disposed of their churches to the highest bidder, as if they were private property; they continually took bribes to shield heretics and criminals from the rigor of the law; they eagerly sold the sacraments and prostituted their sacred functions to the most immoral purposes. Cupidity urged them to increase their income by engaging in worldly callings, and these subsidiary occupations were for the most part unworthy of a pastor, including the distilling of spirits, the practice of magic, and systematic robbery.[1] Their passion for drink was proverbial, and the ingenious devices to which they had recourse in order to indulge it, under the most unfavorable circumstances, bear witness to the wonderful inventive fertility of the Russian mind. The burden of several pastoral letters of Jonas, the Metropolitan of Rostoff, and of the Patriarch Joseph, as well as of certain ukases of the Czars, Alexis Mikhailovitch, and Michael Feodorovitch, was the drunkenness, the cupidity and the incontinence of the clergy.[2] Neither letters nor ukases, entreaties nor commands, however, had much effect on those to whom they were addressed. Abbots and priors and simple monks were continually under the influence of drink, and were frequently being reprimanded by their superiors for neglecting to sing the offices, for supporting their relations and families on the provisions of the monasteries, for stealing money and getting drunk with their own children—the fruit of broken vows.[3]

The state of the moral atmosphere throughout Russia during all those centuries was exactly what one would expect. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries mark a positive retrogression in the intellectual sphere, a retrogression which has no parallel in the history of European nations, and the retrograde movement in the domain of morality, which is equally in evidence, is in exact proportion. A painstaking Russian historian accuses his countrymen of a strong "inclination for gross unbridled license in matters of morals" and of a decided "taste for brutal debauch and listless loafing."[4] It is always rash to hurl accusations of this kind at a

[1] Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 205. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Documents of the Arch. Exped.*, vol. iv., No. 116, cited by Schtschapoff, *l. c.*, p. 211.

[4] Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

whole nation, even when they are one's own countrymen, and one would gladly gainsay the historian, or at least qualify his statement, if there were the slightest grounds for doing so. We know of none, and have therefore no choice but to accept it. It is, moreover, fully borne out by the testimony of enlightened foreigners like Olearius, Kempfer, and others, who saw the country for themselves and have left us vivid accounts of the extremes of immorality which were openly practised by both sexes in Russia.[1] The Patriarch Philaret, writing to Kyprian, Archbishop of Siberia, in 1622, describes the life of the people in cities in language almost too forcible for translation. The horrid crimes which were being constantly and calmly committed "are unknown," he says, "to pagan nations and unheard of among peoples ignorant of God."

Russian history is not rich in reformers in any department of public life, though it would be utterly incorrect to attribute this phenomenon to the operation of the law of demand and supply; and the only man known to the barren pages of that history during those dark ages who seemed in the least qualified to undertake the difficult task of battling with the ignorance and immorality of the clergy, was the Patriarch Nikon. He was gifted by nature with considerable insight and a high degree of physical courage, but he owed nothing absolutely to education or training, and his lack of that prudence which comes of experience, his intolerable arrogance and utter want of self-control, hindered him from permanently gratifying an ambition which was well-nigh boundless and from achieving even that limited measure of success which his influence and position at one time placed within his reach.

The task unsuccessfully undertaken by Nikon has been modestly called the Reformation of the Orthodox Church. It would be more correct, perhaps, to describe it as the conversion of Russia to Christianity. An enterprise of such magnitude, in the seventeenth as in the tenth century, could only be carried out in one of two ways: either by educating the people, whose obtuse minds were insensible to the arguments of reason, or by appealing to the strong arm of the civil power, which, even in the latter half of the present century, has often rudely torn the veil of error from the eyes of defenceless Christians—in some countries of the East. In the seventeenth as in the tenth century, force was preferred to education, and in both cases the results are what might have been expected.

In the beginning of his reign Nikon enjoyed the unbounded confidence of his sovereign, Alexis Mikhailovitch; and his pastoral letters and decisions were listened to with more respect and

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

enforced with greater promptitude and rigor than the ukases of the Czar himself. He was entrusted with the administration of justice, was invested with power to visit prisons at all times and to set the prisoners free on his own authority, to receive or dismiss petitioners who appealed to the Czar for justice or for mercy, and the title as well as the substance of power was generously conferred upon him by his royal master.[1] We are not here concerned with the eventful life and sad end of the ambitious patriarch. It may suffice to remark that, after having been some years the virtual ruler of the realm, he fell into disgrace, lost the political power he had so long enjoyed and abused, was soon after deprived of his spiritual jurisdiction, and died many years afterwards, a querulous prisoner in a gloomy monastery.

The cares and pleasures of civil government did not wholly prevent Nikon, before his fall, from beginning the work of organizing the Church. His first step was to correct the liturgical books in use among the clergy, and it must be confessed that in respect of theology, grammar, and common sense, they were a disgrace to the country and the Church. So far Nikon's reform was undoubtedly called for, and to this extent, at least, his countrymen are indebted to him. Whether this measure can be said to redeem the numerous acts of cruelty and revenge which disgrace his reign, we need not stop to inquire; it is, however, now admitted on all hands that even this wise measure was carried out unwisely. He next forbade all Christians, under heavy pains and penalties, to make the sign of the Cross with two fingers or to recite the "Allelujah" twice instead of thrice,[2] and he declared several other equally impious practices heretical and punishable in this life and in the next. In 1656 a council of the bishops and archbishops of Russia was convened, less to discuss those questions than to lend to Nikon's decrees the authority of their names, and barbarous punishments were inflicted on all who refused or hesitated to acknowledge them.

This was the signal for an outburst of popular indignation such as has had no parallel since or before in the religious or political annals of Russia. The outcry was raised, and re-echoed in the remotest corners of the empire by the Dissentients, who received the name of Old Believers, that a new and impious doctrine was

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1 The Czar bestowed upon him the title of "Great Lord," which, of course, was personal. Nikon endeavored, but without success, to have it inseparably annexed to the office of Patriarch.

2 After the prayer: "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, now and forever and ever, Amen," it was customary to add, "Allelujah, Allelujah, Allelujah, glory to Thee, O God," and to repeat this three times. The Old Believers hold that it is to be recited twice only. This was one of the chief differences between them and the Orthodox Church.

being imposed upon the people; that the divine writings, by means of which their forefathers had saved their souls, were being wickedly tampered with, and that Antichrist had appeared on earth and was seated on the patriarchal throne in Moscow. From this time forth the Schism or Raskol in the Russian Church dates its existence.

Two distinct classes of persons swelled the ranks of the Schismatics: those who, from sheer ignorance and unreasoning, dogged conservatism, were opposed to any change whatever, religious or social, and who were quite as impervious to arguments as they were unmoved by threats of punishment. They made up by the comprehensiveness of their faith for the licentiousness of their morals; and the faults of copyists, the interpolations of translators, the spells and amulets of "magicians," and the prophecies of astrologers came to them invested with the same divine authority which they attributed to the Gospels, that were known to them only by hearsay. They clung with equal tenacity to the numberless superstitious customs that had come down to them from their pagan ancestors, and to the doctrines of a future state, of the two Allelujahs, and of the use of only two fingers in making the sign of the Cross. At the present day their descendants are to the full as narrow and one-sided in their views, as uncompromising in their opposition to what they still call the "new-fangled notions" of Nikon, as their fathers were two centuries ago. They eschew the use of tobacco, snuff, wine, tea, coffee, and most of the other comforts of life, which were unknown or condemned as sinful in the days of Nikon, and they would as soon think of defiling themselves by tasting of food which had been touched by a member of the orthodox faith, as a conscientious Brahmin would consent to drink from the vessel that had been rendered impure by the lips of a member of the Sudra caste. As they hold the priesthood to be one of the fundamental institutions of Christianity, which must be taken to mean their own Church, they are called Old Believers of the Sacerdotal Creed.

The other group of Dissentients, on the contrary, felt and owned the need of a sweeping change. They differed among themselves, however, on matters of detail. But they were all agreed that the bulk of mankind was reprobate, and doomed to undergo frightful torments in the life to come. As they had no means of comparing the religious and moral condition of their forefathers with that of their contemporaries, they set down the supposed degeneration of the latter to the wiles of Antichrist, who was already living and working among men. They accused the clergy of having grossly and wilfully misled the people and of being ministers of Antichrist, and they held them answerable for most of the evils that made the

earth an abomination in the sight of God. With these ideas, it was only natural that they should spurn the offices of the clergy and reject the sacraments of the Church; and from this circumstance they received the name of Old Believers of the Priestless Creed. It is only among followers of this sect, or group of sects, that religious suicide on a large scale has hitherto occurred.

Neither of these classes of Schismatics formed at any time a compact, united body. Fierce persecution, indeed, held them together for a short time, but a few years after they had withdrawn from the Mother Church they were split up into numerous sub-sects, many of which are still, for obvious reasons, imperfectly known in Russia.

II.

It is not easy to understand the origin, the nature, and the objects of certain of those extravagant creeds, and for the sake of human nature one would gladly disbelieve their existence, if it were possible to shut one's eyes to the facts. The psychologist seeks in vain to discover the standpoint from which they require to be viewed in order to appear the work of sane, not to say intelligent, minds, and in the end one is unwillingly forced to the conclusion that no such standpoint exists. It must not, however, be inferred that the Russian Raskol or Schism is entirely made up of such sects, or composed chiefly of fanatics, whose religion, like the highest order of genius, is closely akin to madness. On the contrary, most of the dissenting persuasions profess tolerant and refined religious principles, which most Protestants would willingly endorse, and practise moral and civic virtues which would do credit to any Church or country.

The mental process which led Origen to put the physical impossibility of sinning above the triumphs of reason over passion, whatever we may think of it as a piece of logic, is at least intelligible enough to most minds, and has been independently revived by the Russian Skoptsy. This strange sect seeks to justify its existence by appealing to an isolated text of the New Testament (Matt. xix., 12), which is interpreted literally, and held to be an absolute command addressed to all followers of Christ. The Skoptsy are, of course, unmarried, and their ranks are recruited from the poor, the unsuccessful, the greedy of all classes—chiefly, however, from among peasants, merchants, and small traders. Those whose fanaticism is less doubtful than their intelligence—and they form the great majority—voluntarily join this sect from motives which they deem religious; others are allured by the prospect of a life of comfort, perhaps of luxury. For the Skoptsy are generally in easy circumstances, while some are millionaires, who, during life, spend their wealth very freely in proselytizing, and in screening

their brethren from the periodical rigor of the laws, and, after death, cause it to be devoted to works which often have a much wider scope and can scarcely be refused the name of philanthropic. All the endeavors of the government to root out this sect, or even perceptibly to check its progress, have proved, hitherto, unavailing. It is needless to ask whether this result is exactly what might be expected under the circumstances. We are not here called upon to discuss the relative merits of education and coercion as a means of combating doctrines and practices similar to those of the Skoptsy, nor are we concerned with the question whether method and uniformity of treatment are not absolutely indispensable to success. It would seem, however, undeniable that mingled violence and weakness, such as characterized the measures of the Russian Government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, always exasperate, never persuade, and seldom compel obedience.

Self-destruction from religious motives was probably far more common in pre-historic times than is generally supposed, and the religious codes of many ancient peoples, civilized and barbarous, seem to have sanctioned the principle in its most extreme, if not in its noblest application. In Russia, however, religious suicide was not the direct outcome of any such general principle. In that country it probably existed as a practice before it assumed the character of a dogma; it was a virtual necessity before it became a meritorious act; and the light which revealed it as a salutary precept to the fanatics of the Priestless Sect—though they might mistake it for the light of divine revelation—was the lurid blaze of the fires in which their brethren were burned by the upholders of orthodoxy.

Provocation of the worst kind, however, is of itself scarcely sufficient to explain a phenomenon for which we find no parallel in history, if we except the mania for martyrdom peculiar to some of the African Donatists. The intellectual and moral condition which the ready acceptance of doctrines of this kind pre-supposes, is the result of centuries of ignorance and suffering. The life of the Russian people of those times was of the kind which Solomon had in view when he "praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive." It was unmitigated, never-ending suffering from the cradle to the grave; suffering unsoothed by a ray of hope, a word of comfort, a dream of change; suffering which tinged the songs of the people with sadness akin to despair, which gave a deep tone of melancholy to their folklore and traditions, and armed them with that thorough indifference to death which is still one of their most striking characteristics. If life in those days brought only physical suffering to its victims, it is because they were incapable of feeling pangs of a more acute

description. All but the animal life had been killed out of man, and even that was an instrument of torture to its possessors. The only thing wanting to make this torture unbearable, to make death in any form seem a positive good, was the re-awakening of moral consciousness, and this was one of the results of the impulse given to mental and moral activity by the Schism.

Death by fire was the penalty in those days of resolute government for the holding of religious opinions. It is perhaps needless to state that the tenets of the "Orthodox" Church were not opinions, but revealed truths to be accepted *en bloc*, not only without explanation, but without enumeration. Church and State were leagued together for the purpose of compelling the scrupulous, the doubting and the despairing to tread the beaten tracts and take their chances of salvation with the nation at large—above all with their rulers. Fanatics who held that mankind in general was doomed to perdition, who trembled lest they should fall into the hands of Nikon's followers, less from fear of punishment than from a wild terror of being artfully cheated out of eternal happiness, were not made of stuff likely to yield to the pressure of severity. They were used to suffering, and misery was their constant bed-fellow. They had never set any value on life, and the belief that death was the stepping-stone to a state of everlasting happiness was enough to fire them with a desire to die. This desire became an uncontrollable impulse when the conviction gained ground that Antichrist was born and busily engaged spreading his snares throughout the earth. His seal was the joining together of three fingers in making the sign of the Cross, or it was the three Allelujahs. It was easy to fall a victim to his wiles, and difficult, well nigh impossible, to free oneself from his power again; in fact, the only sure means of breaking with Antichrist was death, voluntary death, equivalent to martyrdom.

Such would seem to be the most probable explanation of the origin of the suicidal sect. That it was a sect, or rather a group of sects, with self-destruction for their dogma, is a fact no longer open to discussion. Some years ago, it is true, a different thesis was broached, and ingeniously defended by a Russian writer, Mr. Yesipoff. According to him, suicide was a means, not an end; the last shift of unfortunate men hunted down by the government and the Church, with no hope of escape before them; and not a dogma, or even a practice adopted on its own intrinsic merits. "If it were a dogma," he reasons—and this is the only argument he brings forward worthy of the name—"it would have appeared spontaneously, whereas all the cases known up to the present (1863) go to show that the Old Believers burned themselves only when on the point of being seized by force, and always in presence

of the detachment of soldiers sent to take them."[1] It is clear that if the assertion were substantiated by the facts, one could no longer speak of suicidal sects, but only of the self-slaughter of proscribed sects in self-defence. A mass of evidence, however, much of which seems to have been unknown to Yesipoff, plainly points the other way, and it is now acknowledged on all hands that suicide by fire was a fundamental doctrine of certain of the Priestless Sects, and was practised independently of the action of the government or its representatives, as an effectual means of purifying the soul.

It is now impossible to say precisely at what time suicide from religious motives first began to be practised in Russia. The earliest chronicled fact occurred in Siberia in the year 1679. It is related in detail by a contemporary, Ignatius, who was metropolitan archbishop of Siberia and Tobolsk from 1693 to 1701. He is the author of three epistles, written in the Slavonic language, with a strong admixture of ancient Russian, in which he exposes and refutes the teaching of the Old Believers.[2] Ignatius is a most important witness, whose testimony has never been impugned, and whose hatred of the Schismatics took the form of imprecations and abuse rather than that of deliberate falsehood or wilful distortion of facts.

One of the most zealous apostles of the Priestless Sect in Siberia was a certain Dometian, who had himself been formerly a priest. He was won over to the new sect by a heresiarch who had abandoned the Armenian Church, in which he was born, for the "Orthodox" Creed of Russia, had then forsaken orthodoxy for schism, and died, many years after, an orthodox Christian. Dometian eagerly accepted his teaching that only two fingers must be joined in making the sign of the Cross, that the innovations of Nikon were the work of the devil, and that priests or other mediators between man and God were worse than useless. Dometian soon after made the acquaintance of a Schismatic monk, from whom he received the monastic habit and the new name of Daniel. Fired with the zeal of an apostle, Daniel traveled about from place to place in the government of Tobolsk, preaching the doctrines of his spiritual fathers. Laying great stress on the circumstance—which few doubted at the time—that Antichrist was born and already at work seducing mankind, he called upon his hearers to leave house and home and repair to the woods, there to prepare for the kingdom of Heaven. Many believed and followed him in his retirement, and Daniel was soon surrounded by a large number of fervent

[1] *Cf.* the Russian review, *Otetchestvennya Zapiski*, 1863, No. II., p. 606.

[2] *Epistles of Ignatius*, Metropolitan of Siberia and Tobolsk, published by the editors of the ecclesiastical review, *Pravoslavny Sobessednik Kazan*, 1855.

disciples, five of whom assisted him in preaching. We have the authority of Ignatius for saying that among the doctrines propagated by Daniel, and eagerly embraced by most of his followers, the necessity of suicide by fire occupied a prominent place. "This accursed Dometian," says the holy man, "and all the other vile teachers taught the followers of their loathsome creed to burn themselves alive, calling this their second baptism. For those who have been baptized by water lose their purity, inasmuch as they live [after baptism]. This accursed Dometian, however, and the others who preached suicide by fire and called it baptism, overlooked the fact that baptism by fire is merely excruciating, not salutary."[1]

Ignatius has preserved a fragment of a letter written by Daniel, or Dometian, as he persisted in calling him, to his spiritual father Ivanischtsche, of which the following is a literal translation: "There are now many virtuous men and women, maidens and youths, gathered together around me, and all of them beg for the second undefiled baptism by fire. What does your holiness ordain?" To which he received the following pithy reply: "You have cooked this mess yourself, eat it now as best you may."[2] On this Daniel ordered his disciples to fill their wooden huts, which were clustered around his own dwelling, with whatever inflammable materials lay handy—rosin, the rind of the elm-tree, flax, sulphur and gunpowder.

Meanwhile, the metropolitan of Siberia, who had heard of the doings of the new sect, despatched certain "pious priests and virtuous men in order to save them from death by fire." The "virtuous men," it may be needful to explain, were armed soldiers. Unhappily for the success of the expedition, the Schismatics were not open to conviction. On the arrival of the deputation they reviled the Czar, the Church, and the bishops; and, in the picturesque language of Ignatius, "they began to bark like dogs possessed of the devil." While the priests and "virtuous men" were still exhorting them, they set fire to their huts and perished in the flames to the number of 1700.[3]

This number, large as it was, represented but a fraction of Daniel's followers. Of the remainder, some, less fervent than their brethren, put off for a time the day of "baptism"; others lived on for the purpose of preaching the doctrines of the sect and converting the unbelieving. Foremost among the latter was Basil Schaposchnikoff, or Vaska, as he was usually called, who, for many

[1] Ignatius, *Epistles*, iii., chap. 32, p. 128.

[2] Ignatius, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[3] Ignatius himself does not fix the number in this place. Bishop Macarius, the historian of the Schism, gives it as 1700. *Cf. Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 248.

years after Daniel's death, wandered about the city and the district of Tobolsk secretly propagating the teachings of the Schismatics. His teachings differed in no essential point from that of Daniel. He was a strenuous advocate of the joining of two fingers in making the sign of the Cross; he preached against the clergy as an institution, and exhorted his hearers to shun the churches of the Nikonites and refuse their sacraments. One of the most powerful inducements to join the new sect which Vaska duly held forth was the means it was said to afford of steering clear of Antichrist and his numerous army; for the faith of the common people in the success of the wiles of this arch-enemy of man was surpassed only by their terror of falling victims to them.

In the year 1693 Ignatius, metropolitan of Siberia, was informed by an old monk of the proselytizing work carried on by Vaska, and means were taken to have him arrested. An archimandrite was instructed to examine him and to report upon the nature and tendency of his doctrines. The cupidity of the archimandrite was stronger, however, than his zeal in the cause of orthodoxy, and he and the officer in charge of Vaska, both consented to take a bribe from the heresiarch, or as Ignatius, who anathematizes all three, delicately puts it, "a present of silver pieces," and set him free, on the ground that he had been grossly calumniated.[1]

After this Vaska and his followers fled to the woods, chose a convenient place for their devotions, and erected three spacious modern buildings round which they piled up all the combustible materials they could find. The authorities were informed of the hiding-place of the Schismatics. They began to correspond with each other as to what measures should be taken, sending letters and messengers from Tomsk to Tobolsk and from Tobolsk to Tomsk in the dignified and leisurely way which is still characteristic of orientals. At length the metropolitan of Siberia bestirred himself and composed a pastoral letter for the edification of the Schismatics, and the Voyevod of Tomsk despatched it with a mixed company of ecclesiastics and horse soldiers. But persuasion and threats were equally unavailing. All discussion between the members of the expedition—who were accompanied by the friends of the Old Believers—and those whom they were sent to convert, was cut short by Vaska, who from the roof of one of the buildings made a short but telling speech to the soldiers and ecclesiastics: "We shall shortly burn," he said, "in fire that passeth away, but ye burn even now with fire that is everlasting. Retire to a distance, lest when we set fire to our dwellings, and the nitre and gunpowder explode, ye be killed by the falling of the beams and

[1] Ignatius, *op. cit.*, p. 131–132.

rafters."[1] Those words had the wished-for effect. The priests and soldiers hastily moved to a safe distance. Vaska then bade his followers let him down from one of the windows, that he might set fire to the houses from the outside. This, however, they refused to do. A little girl was lowered from one of the windows; she set fire to the combustible materials, and the master fared no better than his disciples, all perishing in the flames.[2]

Daniel and Vaska were not the founders of the suicidal sect in Russia, nor even in Siberia. They were merely two of its most zealous and most successful apostles. It existed before them and continued to flourish long after their death. They seem, however, to have been among the first to call suicide by fire the second baptism, and to have made it a condition of salvation. There can be no doubt that it was the firm belief of the suicides that by burning themselves alive they were cleansing their souls from the stain of sin, and were offering up to God a most pleasing sacrifice. Their own hymns prove as much. To save their souls from Hell was their first care, and suicide by fire was proposed to them as the swiftest and surest means by those in whom they placed unbounded trust. For the consideration of such as might doubt of the universal necessity of suicide, cogent reasons of expediency were submitted. To continue to live in the world, filled as it was with the snares of Antichrist, was to expose oneself to the certain danger of apostacy. Nothing was easier than to be seduced by the enemy of man. It was not even necessary to have consciously yielded to his promptings. Co-operation or consent was no more needful than it would be in the animals which a magician's wand might change to stones, or in the children who might be seen in every village pining away and dying from the effects of the evil eye. The only hope of safety lay in flight. Christ Himself had said so; for example, in the following lines—which may be offered as a sample of the hymns sung by the sectarians—in which he addresses the Schismatics, his "shining lights":

> Perfidious Antichrist is born;
> Already hath he spread his snares
> In cities and in villages;

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[1] Ignatius, *Epistles* iii., chap. 33, p. 133. Vaska appears to have told a deliberate falsehood on this occasion. The little girl who set fire to the buildings of the Schismatics and who was afterwards taken by the soldiers, informed them that Vaska filled several vessels with black seed which he sprinkled over with a handful of powder, which was all he had. Ignatius, *Ep.* iii, chap. 33, p. 135. *Cf.* also Macarius, *Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 249

[2] We are not informed of the number of Vaska's followers who perished on this occasion, but from the general tenor of the narrative of Ignatius it would seem to have been little less—perhaps even more—than the number that perished with Daniel.

Hath set his seal upon the people;
Hath sealed their heads and sealed their hands.
Flee ye hence my shining Lights!
To woods and far off hermitages.
Cover yourselves with yellow sands;
With sand and ashes cover yourselves;
Give up your life, my shining Lights,
For the Holy Cross, for prayer . . . . [1]

The necessity for voluntary martyrdom, however, appeared in its most palpable and least abstract form, when the soldiers surrounded the hiding-places of the Old Believers. They well knew, as Yesipoff significantly remarked, what then awaited them. If they had faith in the doctrines of their sect, they were aware that once they fell into the hands of the authorities they could never again hope to practise what it taught them, if by any chance they were allowed to live. They were certain to be inhumanly tortured till they enrolled themselves in the army of Antichrist by making the sign of the Cross with three fingers, or died in frightful agony. And it is extremely probable that considerations of this latter kind acted more powerfully than all others in the beginning.

In reference to the cases in which the action of the Schismatics seems to have been determined by the attempts of the soldiers to arrest them, it will not perhaps be out of place to make two observations: The large proportion such cases bear to those in which no external force influenced the Old Believers, is in part, if not wholly, due to the circumstance that, in selecting only such instances as are well authenticated, we are obliged to rely chiefly on more or less official sources. And, as a rule, official accounts were possible only when soldiers or priests were despatched beforehand. The other remark refers to the nature of the influence exercised by the soldiers. In many cases, perhaps in most, priests and soldiers were not the cause of the Schismatics' resolve to destroy themselves, but merely the occasion. The doctrine of suicide was preached on its own merits, the community was formed and the condition—baptism by fire—accepted by each member long beforehand, so that the arrival of the military was merely the signal, seldom the cause. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that in some cases fear of falling into the hands of their enemies induced the Old Believers to have recourse to suicide.

In August, 1687, a monk, named Pimar, and 1500 of the Old

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[1] *Cf.* Russian ecclesiastical review, entitled: *Pravoslavny Sobessednik*, Kazan, 1861, i., p. 430.

Believers burned themselves to death in the district of Olenetz.[1] In 1753 200 of the sect underwent the "baptism of fire" at Lutchenkina, in the government of Tobolsk.[2] Three years later there was another "baptism," with 170 victims, at Maltseva, in the government of Tomsk.[3] Examples like these naturally kindled the enthusiasm of the Schismatics, for not only were they imitated, but held up to the admiration and imitation of all Old Believers. And it seems highly probable that the express approbation of men of influence and authority among the sectaries contributed very powerfully to the rapid spread of the *doctrine* of suicide. One of the ablest champions, and indeed one of the founders of the Schismatic Church, was the Archpriest Happakuk, who had been censor of the ecclesiastical press in Moscow under Nikon's predecessor, the Patriarch Joseph. His piety, no doubt, was far superior to his learning; but, on the other hand, his sincerity, earnestness, tolerance, and humanity won the involuntary respect of his most implacable enemies. Nikon deprived him of his office and had him transported to Siberia for refusing to use three fingers in making the sign of the Cross and to accept the revised liturgical books. In exile he acquired the reputation of a saint, and certainly the rude virtues he practised and the protracted sufferings he endured for several years before he was finally burned, seemed to give him a strong claim to the title, as claims then went.[4] Now there are some very important passages in the writings of Happakuk which make it perfectly clear that he approved the practice of religious suicide. The following extract, in which he refers to voluntary "martyrs," speaks for itself: "They understood the lures of apostacy, and rather than expose themselves to the danger of destroying their souls, they gathered together in courtyards, with their wives and children, and of their own free will consumed themselves by fire. *Blessed be this resolve in the name of God.*" The effect of words like these from a man of Happakuk's position and reputation cannot easily be overrated, nor is one surprised to learn that in a very short space of time the suicidal sect had

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[1] *History of the Vygoffsky Hermitage of Old Believers* (St. Petersburg, 1862), p. 31; Prugavin, *cf.* review, *Russian Thought*, No. 1, p. 85.

[2] Prugavin, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Zagoskin, "Literary Selections" of the *Volga Messenger*, Kazan, 1884, P. I., p. 192.

[3] *Complete Collection of Laws*, vol. xiv., No. 10,585, p. 599; *cf.* Prugavin, *Russian Thought*, 1885, I., p. 89.

[4] Happakuk's "Autobiography," written in ancient Russ, shortly before his execution, is one of the most interesting records of that age. He unconsciously portrays himself with what seems wonderful fidelity, and the result is one of the most heroic and most amiable characters of his century. The title of the book is as follows: *Life of the Archpriest Happakuk (Avvakum) written by himself.* Edited by N. S. Tichonravoff, published by D. Koschartschikoff, St. Petersburg, 1862. This is an extremely rare book at present.

spread all over the north and northeast of Russia, from Archangelsk to Siberia.

On the showing of their worst enemies, who never speak of them without calling down heavy curses on their souls, the Old Believers, in their struggle with the government, were of an extremely forbearing disposition, readily forgave their enemies, and lent a helping hand even to those who had wrought them irreparable evil. Their conceptions of justice and morality were, on the whole, immeasurably superior to those of most of their orthodox enemies; and however they may have exaggerated some of the forms of Christianity and laid undue stress on the latter, it cannot be denied that, in all their actions, they were actuated by an honest desire to live according to the spirit of the Gospel. In respect of unflinching devotion to what they deemed the cause of God, in respect of single-mindedness, modesty, and love of their neighbors, men like the Archpriest Happakuk, the deacon Ignatius, or the brothers Denissoff, compare very favorably with the most honored of English or of continental "Reformers." The Schismatics of the suicidal sects resembled men with one fixed idea, who, on all other questions of private or public life, are not only perfectly sane, but exceptionally shrewd, well-informed, and honest.

To this rule there have been exceptions sufficiently rare to prove it. On one or two occasions the Old Believers were reinforced by a sprinkling of wild, adventurous spirits who, armed with guns, carbines, and whatever other arms they could lay their hands on, did not hesitate to take the offensive. But even these, it must not be forgotten, carried arms more for ornament than for use, and did very little harm to their enemies. Thus, on the 23d September, 1689, a band of Schismatics, headed by a monk named German, seized the orthodox monastery of Paleostroff, in the government of Olonetz, imprisoned the prior and thirteen novices in the cellar, and worshiped God according to their own rite in the church. An archpriest was despatched by the authorities, at the head of a company of soldiers, to bring persuasion or force to bear on the intruders, and to put an end to the occupation. As usual, the expedition failed. Against men who were thoroughly in earnest, and set no value upon their lives, little could be done by hirelings or dilettanti; the conditions were far too unequal. But there was another important reason to account for the failure. Many monasteries in those days were less spiritual than military strongholds, and the monastery of Paleostroff in particular was one of those which it was infinitely more difficult to attack than to defend, and probably if the soldiers sent in 1689 to storm it were twice as numerous as they actually were, they would have been unable to dislodge the Old Believers, who held out for nine weeks. Indeed,

there was no reason why they should not have held out for years as their brethren did in the Solovetsky monastery against the best generals of the day. German, however, who panted for the "martyr's" crown, proclaimed the time come for receiving the baptism of fire—the only sure pledge of eternal salvation for sinful man. His impassioned discourse kindled a wild, uncontrollable enthusiasm in his followers, who at once set fire to the monastery and perished in the flames, having forgotten or refused to set free the orthodox prior and his thirteen companions who were still willing to live. The most moderate accounts fix the number of voluntary "martyrs" at 500, while the Raskolnik historian, Denissoff, estimates it, and not without a good show of reason, at 1500.[1]

Four years afterwards a monk of the Solovetsky monastery, at the head of his armed disciples, took possession of the Orthodox Church at the parish of Pudosch,[2] expelled the priests, consecrated it anew, and washed the church utensils with water. After a stay of a few weeks the Schismatics carried off the Gospels and some other books belonging to the church, and fled to a village called Strokina, where they shut themselves up in four large wooden houses. Their hiding-place was soon discovered and a body of soldiers sent to capture them. In answer to the summons of the commanding officer they reviled the Orthodox Church and the cross with one transverse beam. The soldiers then rushed to the doors to break them in, and the Schismatics fired on the soldiers in order to keep them at bay till they burned down their dwellings. The soldiers strove hard to storm the houses, but before they could effect an entrance the fire had accomplished its work and the Old Believers had died for their convictions. The number of martyrs is variously estimated at from 800 to 1200.[3]

It would be a hopeless task to set about giving even an approximate estimate of the number of Schismatics who burned themselves alive between the seventeenth century and the present day. For such a calculation we can only take our data from sources of the most trustworthy kind, which are generally official documents. Now, official documents were compiled only when the soldiers or other representatives of the authorities were present at the scenes described, whereas by far the greater number of those who "baptized" themselves by fire did so in the depths of the forest and in other inaccessible places, far away from the gaze of the curious or the "reprobate." Of such events no records exist, or at most

[1] Macarius, *Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 253; Hist. Documents, v., No. 151, p. 255, 256.

[2] In the Government of Olonets.

[3] Schtschapoff, *Russ. Schism*, p. 267; Macarius, *Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 353–354; *Hist. Documents*, v., No, 223, p. 388–390.

narratives compiled exclusively for religious purposes and devoid of that precision and objectivity which are the first conditions of authenticity. But even the official accounts do not always give us assistance, as they are sometimes couched in terms too vague to be of use in a calculation of this kind. Orders were generally given to the soldiers sent to arrest the Old Believers, in case they failed to prevent the suicide, at least to count the number of "martyrs," and on one occasion the government office of Novgorod, in answer to objections, actually commanded them to count the intestines, "because the intestines," explains this discursive document, "can never burn to a cinder in a fire, no matter how large the building."[1] But in spite of these precise instructions it often happened that no means were taken to ascertain the number of Schismatics that had perished. Thus we frequently find it stated that "so and so" burned himself alive with his whole flock, "or perished along with a large (or unknown) number of Schismatics." Thus in the year 1747, on the banks of the river Umba, Terence, a disciple of Philip—the founder of the most suicidal of all Russian sects—"died of fire," as it is euphemistically put, "along with his whole flock."[2] From the same source we learn that three years later, on the banks of the same river, Matthew, likewise a disciple of Philip, "burned himself alive with his flock."[3] In the same year, 1750, in the district of Tumen, in the village of Zaïkova, "an unknown number of Raskolniks burned themselves alive."[4] In the next year, 1753, in the district of Ustinga, "an unknown number of Schismatics set fire to their dwellings and perished in the flames."[5] And so on; vague expressions of this kind meet us at every step.

If we eliminate all those cases in which indefinite terms are substituted for precise figures, and confine ourselves to facts based mostly on official accounts—which have a decided tendency to lessen the number of suicides—we arrive at a total of ten thousand seven hundred and four "martyrs" by fire. Now it is perfectly certain that this is but a very small fraction of the number of sectarians who burned themselves alive. The number of cases known from other than official sources is incomparably greater. To take one work alone, in the Obituary of the Old Believers, edited some years ago by a learned scholar, Mr. Pypin, we find the number of

[1] Yesipoff, in the Review, *Otetschestvennya Zapiski*, 1863, No. II., p. 619.

[2] Memorandum-Book of the Government of Olonets for the year 1868–9, p. 195, cited by Prugavin; *cf. Russian Thought*, 1885, No. 1, p. 88.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Zagoskin, in the "Literary Selections" of the *Volga Messenger*, 1884, I., p. 192; *cf.* Prugavin, *Russian Thought*, 1885, No. 1, p. 89.

[5] *Cf. Complete Collection of Laws*, vol. xiv., No. 10, 585, p. 599; *cf.* Prugavin, *op. cit.* p. 89.

Raskolniks whose self-destruction by fire is described in that book alone to amount to ten thousand one hundred and two. It would be interesting to sift and sum up all the other cases mentioned in various works and manuscripts scattered throughout Russia, especially in the Martyrologies and other religious books, which are still read with devotion by certain among the Schismatic sects; though even the idea which they could give us of the number of "martyrs" by fire would still necessarily be very inadequate. We are assured by Mr. Pavloff, who has brought some very interesting facts to light, that in Siberia, where the suicidal sects struck deep roots, piles of official documents touching on the self-slaughter of the Schismatics are mouldering away unedited, unknown, in the various archives of the cities.[1] The traditions still current among the people in various parts of Russia, the numerous tombs of the "martyrs" which are even now being secretly visited as places of pilgrimage, and the reminiscences of old men still living, attest the extensive development of those extraordinary sects. It should be borne in mind, however, that we have only looked upon one phase of their development—that death by fire was but one of several forms of suicide approved by the Old Believers. Some preferred drowning, others used the hatchet; fasting to death was the method employed by a large number of Raskolniks, while many who were loath to become their own executioners were smothered at their own desire by their brethren.[2]

In the year 1762 the Emperor Peter III. issued a ukase which allowed the Raskolniks breathing time. Violent persecutions—at least in so far as it was the work of the central government—ceased for a short time, and officials were advised to try the effect of the laws which we should, no doubt, consider extremely rigorous, but which for Russia were very humane. This innovation, short-lived though it proved to be, did much to diminish the fanaticism, to spiritualize and refine the religious views, of the Raskolniks; and the spread of enlightenment, which has been infinitely more rapid among them than in the ranks of any other body of men in Russia, has considerably abated the violence, without entirely removing all symptoms, of the suicidal mania.

There seem to be good grounds for believing that a few sects still exist at the present day which have a pronounced tendency to suicide, to which they give an encouragement which only stops short at compulsion. The tradition would seem to have survived

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[1] *Cf.* review, *Russkaïa Starina*, 1879, X., p. 336.

[2] Those Sects will form the subject of another paper. Smothering with a pillow seems to have been very extensively practised of late years.

in the form of a counsel rather than that of a precept, but of a counsel which circumstances may render obligatory, and which is sometimes conscientiously acted upon by the most scrupulous or the most fanatical members of the sect. Care, however, is generally taken to leave no clue which might enable the authorities to discover the motives of the act, and it certainly seems undeniable that a large proportion of those enigmatical suicides which are daily occurring in Russia would, if the truth were known, have to be set down as religious. The following are two, selected from several cases that have occurred in quite recent times, the religious character of which is not doubtful: In the year 1860, in the government of Olonets, fifteen Old Believers of both sexes burned themselves in the forest "for the Lord's sake,"[1] and in 1883, in Velimtcha, a peasant named David Schudruk, eager for the crown of martyrdom, filled his hut with straw and burned himself alive.[2]

The old hymns, that were as war-cries to the Old Believers when nerving themselves for the last struggle, have been faithfully handed down to their successors, and are still sung by them, especially when one of them is about to receive the baptism of fire. The hymns are, in many respects, curious compositions. They are relics, not so much of a definite period of Russian history, as of a social and religious state which one would gladly hear had disappeared for ever and left no traces behind. They contain the condensed history of centuries, if one only knew how to decipher it aright. We may get from them a fair idea of the cheerless philosophy of the masses of the people, and realize how utterly gloomy and hopeless were the views of life and human nature which underlay their dismal creed; we may thus catch a glimpse of the cold, cruel Moloch who had usurped the throne of God, and needed tremendous *bribes*—not merely immense human holocausts, but the self-slaughter of the whole human race—to purchase his good will; and we can imagine how terrible and how wide reaching must have been the injustice, the want and the misery that brought forth such despair as not even the consciousness of strength and numbers could dispel or modify.

The following is an extract from one of the hymns still in use among the members of a few Schismatic sects. Christ is supposed to be addressing his followers and urging them on to the sacrifice:

[1] Prugavin, *Russ. Thought*, 1885, I., p. 91; *Moscow Government News*, 1862, No. 26.

[2] Prugavin, *op. cit.*, p. 91. [This writer cites the *Moscow News;* but the number he quotes contains no allusion whatever to the case he describes. Perhaps the reference should be *Moscow Government News*, which is a different journal.] In most cases of suicide which have occurred of late years the Schismatics have generally preferred fasting to death, or being smothered to death by fire. As we are concerned for the moment only with those sects whose members burned themselves alive, we avoid touching upon any other phases of the movement in this paper.

Flee ye to the mountains and the caverns;
There heap up high funeral piles;
With inflammable sulphur sprinkle them;
Burn thereon your mortal bodies;
Suffer for me, my shining lights!
Heaven's halls will I throw open to you—
I will lead ye into the heavenly kingdom;
I will live with you forever and aye.[1]

THE AVESTA AND ITS DISCOVERER.

THE SACRED BOOK OF THE PARSIS AND ITS DISCOVERER.

AT Nehavend, near Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana, in the year 641, the Arabs attacked and cut to pieces the last great army that ever gathered to the standard of the Sassanian kings of Persia. The battle of Nehavend, called by the Arab historian Tabari, "the victory of victories,"[2] won all Persia to Islam. It was in vain that Yezdegird, its last Sassanian king, carried on for a while a desultory warfare against the conquerors. He died by the hand of an assassin ten years after his defeat, but already, even before his death, throughout a great part of Iran the people had accepted the Koran and abandoned the fire-temple for the mosque. Only a handful clung to the religion of their fathers. Exposed in later years to the persecution of their Mohammedan masters, who looked on them as idolatrous worshipers of fire, to whom no zealous Moslem could give toleration, the Guebres (as they were now called) were further reduced in numbers by the emigration of the more energetic among them to western India. They left the shores of Persia by sea about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, that is to say, within a hundred years of the battle of Nehavend. Many of their ships were lost in a great storm, and only a few reached the coast of Guzerat, where they landed at Sejam, some seventy miles south of Surat.[3] Here they were allowed to form a settlement on certain conditions, the chief of which were that they should speak the Guzerathi language, and so far respect the prejudices of their Hindoo hosts

[1] Varentsoff, *Collection of Spiritual Songs of the Russian People*, St. Petersburg, 1860, p. 185. *Cf.* also Review, *Pravoslavny Sobessednik*, Kazan, 1881, I., pp. 429–430.

[2] Fattah-hul-Futtah. Rawlinson, "*Seventh Oriental Monarchy*," p. 575.

[3] Hunter, *Gazetteer of India*, ii., 333.

as not to eat beef. From this time these fugitives from Persia were known in India as the Parsis.

At Sejam they began to devote themselves to that commercial enterprise which has gradually won for them the high position they now hold in India. They carried on a trade along the coast with their ships, and, rapidly increasing in numbers, began to form further settlements in the neighboring districts. At Cambay they at length outnumbered the Hindoos and took armed possession of the town. This is, it seems, the only recorded instance of a Parsi revolt. It had a disastrous end. The town was soon retaken and great numbers of the rebels were massacred by the Hindoos, who held it till the Mohammedan conquest in 1297.

In the first half of the fifteenth century we find the Parsis forming a settlement at Navasâri or Nosari, in what is now the native state of Baroda.[1] Several thousands of them are to be found there to this day, and they are a thriving and wealthy community. It was probably from this settlement that the Parsis threw off a colony to the new city of Surat, founded in 1540, at a distance of about fifteen miles from Navasâri. Surat rose rapidly to commercial eminence. It was in the last century the chief seat of commerce with the West, and probably the most populous city in India. Towards the end of the century, when trade declined at Surat, and Bombay began to take its place as a commercial centre, the Parsis were far-sighted enough to mark the change that was in progress, and they settled in large numbers at Bombay.

There are at present not quite 70,000 Parsis in British India.[2] Of these, upwards of 66,000 are to be found in the Bombay Presidency, nearly 50,000 being concentrated in Bombay cities, where, says Dr. Hunter, "they exercise an influence much greater than is implied by their actual numbers. . . . . By the force of their inherited wealth, their natural genius for trade, their intelligence and their munificient charities, they hold the first place among the native community."[3]

About 6500 Parsis are still to be found at Surat, and there are some 7000 in the old settlement at Navasâri in Baroda. This last appears to be the only considerable body of Parsis in native territory.[4] Thus of the 250,000,000 of India, not quite 80,000 are Parsis

Their brethren in Persia who still cling to the so-called fire-worship are even less numerous. There are in all about 8000 of them, mostly settled in or near Yezd. Some few are to be found at

[1] Hunter, i., 450. [2] Census of India, 1871. Hunter, *Gazetteer*, ii., 189.

[3] Hunter, *Official Gazetteer of India*, ii., 212.

[4] The census of 1871 returned 1223 Parsis in Bengal; 2 in the N. W. Provinces; 65 at Ajnere; 414 in the Punjaub; 74 in the Central Province; 75 in Berar; 45 in Mysore; 10 in Coorg; and 39 in British Burmah. Hunter, *Indian Empire*, p. 549.

Teheran, at Shiraz, at Ispahan, and at Baku near the great mountain that is regarded as a holy place on account of its burning naphtha springs. They are a poor and ignorant people, but at the same time are said to bear a high character for honesty, general morality and industry. These two groups of men, the 8000 Guebres of Persia and the 80,000 Parsis of India, are the last fragments of a great people, whose religion is one of those that have had a wide-reaching influence on the history of the world.

The features of this religion that have, at all times, most attracted the attention of those who view it from without, are the exposure of the dead to the birds of the air on the summits of the *dakhmas* or "Towers of Silence," and the prominence given in the Parsi worship to the sacred fire. As a fact, the Parsi denies that he pays any direct adoration to the sacred flame, and declares it to be only a symbol of the presence of the Deity; but to superficial observers from without Parsis and Guebres appear to be fire-worshipers. Further, it has long been known that the central idea of the Parsi religion is the struggle between the rival lords of the two worlds of good and evil, Ormuzd and Ahriman (*Ahura-Mazda* and *Angro-Maimyer*)—Ormuzd, maker and lord of all that is good, and Ahriman, the lord and maker of all that is evil, both moral and physical. Thus dualism, fire-worship, and the exposure of the dead appear, at first sight, to be the three chief points in the Parsi religion. It is really far more complex both in teaching and in practice than a mere outsider would suppose. The Parsis have always claimed for it a venerable antiquity,[1] linking its origin with the name of their prophet Zoroaster (Zarathustra). All competent authorities admit that, in its main features, the Parsi religion is the same as that of Persia under the Sassanian kings (A.D. 226–641). If the claims to antiquity made for it by the Parsis and by some European scholars are well founded, it must have also been the religion of that older Persia which conquered Egypt and warred with Greece; the religion not only of the last Darius, but of the first; the religion of Cyrus and of his fathers in their mountain home before Mede and Persian marched together to the conquest of Babylon.

However this may be, this much is certain, that at least the later Achæmenidæ professed a religion which had some connection with modern Parsiism; that the Sassanidæ, when they restored the Persian empire in the third century of our era, professed to be only the revivers of this ancient creed; and that through Gnosticism and Manicheanism the old religion of Persia played no small part

[1] Thus the Secretary of the Parsi Panchâyat at Bombay, Mr. Nussurwanjee Byramjee, said to Prof. Monier Williams: "Our prophet Zoroaster, *who lived 6000 years ago*, taught us to regard the elements as symbols of the Deity, etc." (Monier Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*, p. 62.)

in the conflicts of the early Church with eastern heretics and dissidents. There are some who hold that this old religion had a still earlier point of contact with Christianity, and that the Magi who knelt before the Babe of Bethlehem, and laid at His feet their gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh, were members of the priestly caste of the ancient creed of Iran.

The religion of the Parsis has been called Parsiism from the name given to its adherents in India, and Zoroastrianism from its alleged founder. To these names that of Mazdeism or the Mazdean religion is, on many accounts, to be preferred. It is not, like "Parsiism," connected with a mere local class name, nor does it, like "Zoroastrianism," rest on a possibly false assumption. It is formed from the name *Mazda* or *Ahura-Mazda*, given to the Supreme God in the old sacred literature of Persia, and it recalls the name therein given to the religion itself, the "Law of Mazda."

The modern study of this religion began in the second half of the last century, when, for the first time, a European scholar devoted himself to the task of collecting, among the Parsis themselves, the necessary materials for research. This was the now celebrated Anquetil Duperron. Long before his time, Brisson had collected together all that could be found in classical writers on the subject of the old Persian religion;[1] and more recently Thomas Hyde, of Oxford, had published a book on the religion of ancient Persia, Parthia, and Media,[2] in which, to the materials used by Brisson, he added information derived from the writings of Mohammedan historians and European travellers. Some few manuscripts of the Parsi sacred books had already reached Europe. One was at Oxford, secured by a chain to the wall of the Bodleian Library, but there was no one in Europe who could read it. Duperron, while studying Persian and Arabic at Paris, read Hyde's book, and was shown a copy of some pages of the Oxford manuscript. He made up his mind to go to India, obtain from the Parsis themselves copies of their sacred books, learn from Parsi teachers to read and understand them, and, returning to Europe, immortalize himself by giving to the learned world the first edition of the long-lost books of Zoroaster, which were so often mentioned by ancient writers, and which he held to be probably no other than the books actually in the possession of the Parsis. He endeavored to obtain a passage to India, but, failing in this, he went to one of the recruiting depots where troops were being enlisted for the East, and, on November 7, 1754, he marched out of Paris as a common soldier in a party of recruits bound for the port of L'Orient, where

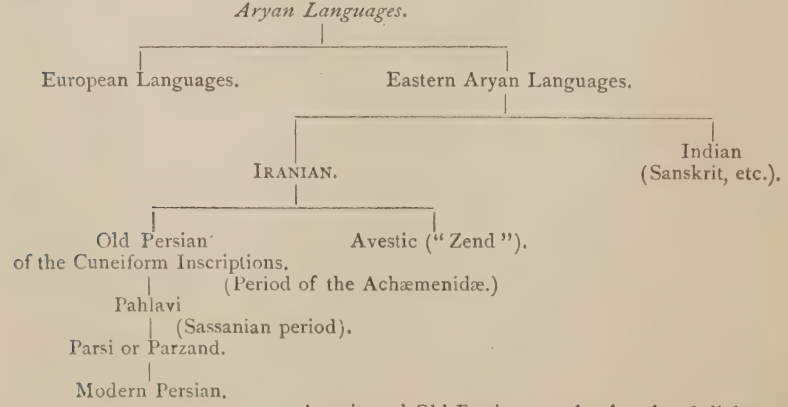
[1] In the second book of his work: *De Regio Persarum Principatu, libri* iii. Paris, 1590.

[2] *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia.* Oxford, 1700.

they were to embark for India. His friends, hearing of what he had done, exerted their interest with the government, and succeeded in obtaining for him a free passage to India, the cancelling of his enlistment, and the grant of a moderate annuity, nominally as pay for his services as interpreter to the French factors in India. He reached Pondicherry on August 10, 1755. He stayed there a short time in order to learn to speak Persian, and then went on to Chandernagore, where he hoped to learn Sanskrit. There he fell ill, and had hardly recovered when the place was attacked and taken by the English. Not without some difficulty and danger, Duperron succeeded in getting out of the town, and, after various adventures, he set off on a lonely march of a hundred days to Pondicherry. He had no baggage and very little money, but he succeeded in making this long journey mostly on foot, nearly always alone, under a burning sun, and without a map or guide. At Pondicherry he found one of his brothers just arrived from France, and on the point of setting out for Surat. This was the real beginning of his good fortune. He accompanied his brother to Surat, where he soon found himself in relation with the priests of the most important Parsi community in India. By a free expenditure of money he succeeded in obtaining from two independent sources copies of the Avesta, the sacred book of the Parsis, containing the law and liturgy of their religion. The language in which it was written, the Zend, as Duperron called it,[1] had long ceased to be a living tongue. Even the dasturs or Parsi priests could not really translate it, but, with the help of a later version in Pahlavi (the language of Persia under the Parthian and Sassanian kings, written with a mixture of Persian and Aramæan words),[2]

[1] Zend or (*Zand*) is really a term meaning the explanation or translation into the later Pahlavi. The language of the Avesta has sometimes been called Bactrian. This name rests on an assumption. The most correct term is Avestic.

[2] The position of these languages in the Aryan family is indicated in the following diagram:



Avestic and Old Persian are closely related dialects.

they gave him the meaning of many terms and a translation which, though conveying sometimes the general sense of the passage in question, sadly misrepresented, as we now know, the greater portion of the original. In 1764, Anquetil Duperron returned to Europe, and deposited in the Royal Library of Paris a rich collection of oriental manuscripts, including his two copies of the text of the Avesta in the original, the Pahlavi translation and glosses, and his own notes for a complete French translation, these last being chiefly a version of what the dasturs had dictated to him. In 1771, after seven years' work on the materials he had brought with him from India, he published his translation, together with a narrative of his travels and an account of modern Parsiism as he had seen it practised at Surat. On his title-page he declared the Avesta to be the work of Zoroaster.[1]

The work was immediately attacked by Sir William Jones in a French pamphlet, in the form of a letter to Anquetil Duperron, in which he maintained that the Avesta was nothing more than a forgery—and a clumsy forgery, too—of the dasturs, and that even if it were genuine it was such a worthless piece of composition that it was mere folly to publish it. His chief reason for asserting that it was a forgery was simply that so much of its contents being absurd and unreasonable, it could not possibly be the work of a sage like Zoroaster, whose wisdom had won the praise of all antiquity. The author of such a work as that now presented to the public, could never, he asserted, have secured such a reputation. Briefly, he left Duperron to choose whether he would be called a knave, a dupe, or a fool.[2] Sir William Jones was a very young man when he wrote this pamphlet. The splendid services which he afterwards rendered to Oriental science have won him more than forgiveness for it.

It was, however, the beginning of a long controversy as to the genuineness of the books of Zoroaster. Into the history and the

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[1] The title of the work is: "*Zend-Avesta*, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les idées théologiques, physiques et morales de ce législateur, les cérémonies du culte religieux qu'il a établi, et plusieurs traits importans relatifs à l'ancienne histoire des Perses. Traduit en François sur l'original Zend, avec des rémarques et accompagné de plusieurs Traités propres à éclaircir les matières qui en sont l'objet. Par M. Anquetil du Perron, de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres et Interprète du Roi pour les Langues Orientales. Paris, 1771." The book is nominally in two volumes, quarto, but as the first is divided into two parts with separate titles, there are really three. Volume I., Part 1, contains the travels and introductory matter; Volume I., Part 2, the Yasna, Vispered, and Vendidâd; and Volume II., the Yashta, Sirozah and Bundahish, this last being a comparatively modern Pahlavi work, and forming no real part of the Avesta.

[2] "Vous avez insulté le gout du public en lui présentant des sottises, où vous l'avez trompé en lui débitant des mensonges." Sir W. Jones, "*Lettre à M. A. . . D. . .*"

merits of this controversy there is no need to enter here.[1] It has long since been decided in the sense that the dasturs of Surat really gave to Anquetil Duperron genuine copies of the sacred books of ancient Iran—though the question of their precise age is still an open one, and a Zoroastrian authorship is more than doubtful. Anquetil Duperron is now recognized as the founder of a new branch of Oriental research, the man who gave to Europe the original documents for the study of the Mazdean religion. And he not only placed these books within the reach of the learned of Europe, but he honestly did all he could to provide a key to their hidden meaning, and it was no fault of his that the key proved in so many respects a defective one,[2] and that it was reserved for Eugene Burnouf to inaugurate the strictly scientific study of the Avesta by the publication of his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna* (Paris, 1833), more than sixty years after the appearance of Anquetil Duperron's version.

Now that the genuine character of his discovery is placed beyond all doubt, the controversy about it has only a historical interest; but though this makes it unnecessary to discuss in detail the objections once raised against the authenticity of the Avesta, it is still useful to take note of some of the reasons we have for feeling sure that we possess in it not a modern forgery, but a collection of some, at least, of the genuine sacred books of ancient Persia.

1. The Parsis have long given up that jealousy of strangers which made it so very difficult for Anquetil Duperron to obtain copies of any of their sacred writings. There are now several important collections of Avestic manuscripts in Europe. Their contents correspond perfectly with those of the manuscripts brought by Duperron from Surat. It is therefore certain that the dasturs gave him genuine copies of their books, instead of putting him off with a clever fabrication, as many long believed that they had done.

2. The books are mainly liturgical in character. When the dasturs gave them to Duperron they had long recited the formulas, prayers, and hymns they contained without really knowing their full meaning, as they understood them only by means of the

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[1] Its history is told clearly and with sufficient detail by M. Darmesteter in the introduction to his version of the Avesta (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv.), by Dr. West in his introduction to Haug's *Essays on the Parsis*.

[2] Duperron's own estimate of his version may be gathered from the remarks which he prefixes to a very long list of errata (vol. i., pt i., p. xvii.): "Je ne dis rein des fautes qui touchent au fond de l'ouvrage. Dans deux cents ans quand les langues Zende et Pehlvie seront devenues en Europe familieres aux Sçavans, on pourra, en rectifiant les endroits où je me serai trompé, donner une traduction plus exacte du Zend Avesta ; et si ce que je dis ici, excitant d'émulation, avance le terme que je viens de fixer, mes fautes m' auront conduit au but que je me suis proposé."

Pahlavi version, and even this they understood imperfectly. Pahlavi was one of the languages of Persia under the Parthian and Sassanian kings. This we know from their coins and inscriptions.[1] We also know from history that Ardeshir (Artaxerxes), the founder of the Sassanian line (A D. 226), was the restorer of Zoroastrianism as the state religion of Persia. Now the Pahlavi version of its liturgical books must have been made because Zend (Avestic) was already a dead language; and the version must belong to the period when Pahlavi was in use, that is, to the period of the Parthian and Sassanian kings, or to the period after the Mohammedan conquest, when Pahlavi was still familiar to the dasturs. Positive records of the existence of the version under the Sassanians disposes of this last supposition; and though the *exact* date of the version is not known, we have good reason to believe it was begun in the period of the Parthian rule and finished under the Sassanidæ. But however this may be, so far as the original text is concerned, the fact that the language in which it is written has been a dead one for at least sixteen centuries, makes it impossible that the Avesta can be a work of the modern period.

3. One objection to the genuineness of the Avesta was based on a theory that "Zend" was a dialect of Sanskrit. It was urged that it was absurd to suppose that the sacred books of ancient Persia could have been written in an Indian language, while it was easy to understand how the Parsis, living in India and speaking Guzerathi, might have taken up a cognate Sanskrit dialect as their sacred language. We now know, from the study of comparative philology, that Avestic (Zend) is not in any sense an Indian dialect, and that it belongs to a distinct group of languages from Sanskrit, though both Avestic and Sanskrit (with the allied Iranian and Indian languages) are members of the great Aryan family of speech of which they form together the eastern branch.[2] We have further proof that the Avesta is written in a language belonging to ancient Persia in the fact that the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions on the rocks of Behistur and the ruins of Persepolis, the work of Darius and the other Achæmenide kings, on being deciphered are found to be written in a language so closely allied to that of the Avesta that Avestic and the Persian of the inscriptions may be pronounced to be dialects of one and the same language.

4. The scattered notices of the old Persian religion in classical

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[1] Thus under the Parthian Empire, on the drachmas and tetradrachmas of Vologeses IV., Vologeses V., Artaban V., and Artabaz, we already meet with Pahlavi titles, *i malkâ*, "the king," and malkân malkâ, "king of kings." Cf. De Harlez, *Introduction à l'Avesta*, p. xxxiv.

[2] The position of the Avestic language in the Aryan family is shown in a diagram in a preceding foot-note.

writers correspond very closely with what we learn of it from the Avesta. In the classical writers we have the testimony of contemporary witnesses, testimony to which the Parsis could have had no access. This correspondence between our two sources of information is an important confirmation of the previous arguments.

Thus we may be certain that the Avesta, as a whole, is a work of considerable antiquity. We have complete proof that it is, at least, as old as the period of the Sassanian empire (A.D. 226–641), and the probability is that it dates back to the days of the Achæmenidæ, whose inscriptions are written in a language practically the same as its own. Of course, it may have been retouched and interpolated in many places where it was officially recognized as the code of the Mazdean religion under the Sassanidæ.

The meaning of the word "Avesta" is disputed. It is most probably the same as that of the word *abasta*, which occurs in the great inscription of Darius at Behistur in the sense of *law*. The Avesta is therefore like the Jewish Thorah, the "book of the law." Anquetil Duperron adopted, as we have seen, the term *Zend-Avesta* as the title of the Zoroastrian books under the impression that this was the name given by the Parsis themselves to the Avesta. But he was in error. Both the terms Zend (Zand) and Avesta are indeed in use among the Parsis, but with different meanings. *Zand* signifies the Pahlavi version and commentary; *Avesta*, the original text. When the two terms are used together the meaning is the text with its version and commentary (*Avestâ va Zand;* Pahlavi, *Avestak* or *Abastak va Zand*).

The Avesta, as we now possess it, probably represents only a portion of the sacred literature of the Mazdean religion. What we have has been preserved to us by the fact of its use in the daily worship of the Parsis, which led to the multiplication of manuscripts and to their safe keeping in the hands of the dasturs. Parsi tradition asserts that it orginally consisted of twenty-one *Nosks* or books, each one dealing with a separate subject. According to this tradition these twenty-one books contained, in all, 832 chapters; the Avesta that we now possess contains 119. So far as its details are concerned, this tradition can hardly be said to be of much value; but so far as it simply asserts the former existence of Avestic books that are now lost, it is certainly well founded. There is proof of this in the fragments which are still preserved in the form of quotations in the Pahlavi commentaries.

The Avesta, like our Bible, is, properly speaking, rather a collection of books than a single book. It consists of three parts or books, namely:

1. The *Vendîdâd*, or book of legends and laws of purification.
2. The *Yasna*, or liturgy of the sacrifice.
3. The *Vispered*, a kind of appendix to the Yasna.

There is also a collection of prayers and formulas for private use known as the *Khordah Avesta*, or "Little Avesta." This holds much the same relation to the Avesta properly so-called, as a book of private devotions holds to the public liturgy of the Church.

We hope, in another article, to say something of the doctrines and the moral code set forth in these old-world books, in which we find the traditions, the liturgy, and the laws of what is probably the highest, in many respects, of all pagan religions. The story of how these books have been preserved to us is one of the most curious in history, and their discovery by Anquetil Duperron's self-sacrificing enterprise is one of those episodes in the history of research which shows that science, as well as war, has its heroes.

THE NEW CRUSADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

WHEN that illustrious Pontiff, our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., in his remarkable Encyclical Letter of June 20, 1888, addressed to the bishops of Brazil, on Human Liberty, and issued on the occasion of the emancipation of the Brazilian slaves, used those remarkable words, "Liberty, the highest gift of nature," he touched the cord of Christian philanthropy and charity in the best and noblest hearts of Christendom. And when he proceeded to say that, "as the Catholic Church declares in the strongest terms the simplicity, spirituality and immortality of the soul, so, with unequalled constancy, she asserts also its freedom," he infused new life, energy and zeal into the present wonderful crusade, which, in the most fervent prayers and efforts of noble men of every Christian society, is destined to crown the nineteenth century with its brightest glory, the complete extermination of the African slave trade.

Cardinal Lavigerie summoned the Great International Anti-Slave Trade Congress to assemble at Lucerne in October, 1889, to concert measures among the Christian powers of the earth for the extinction of this inhuman and deadly traffic. A distinguished

philanthropist and English representative in the proposed congress has visited our country in order to awaken interest in the cause among Americans and secure an American delegation to attend this earnest and august assembly. His mission was very generally received with favor, and the secular press re-echoed with appeals to our countrymen in behalf of the unfortunate Africans, born as free by nature as ourselves, but constantly captured and dragged from his home, with circumstances of the most appalling cruelty, to slavery, despair, death. We desire to interest our Catholic countrymen, prone to slowness in such matters, in this great and exalted Crusade of the nineteenth century. What Catholic in America will hesitate to join in this great Christian movement, when the Vicar of Christ, the exalted, the good, the learned, and humane Leo XIII., and many princes of the Church, members of his senate and council, are leading the way? There are Catholic features in the movement which we will endeavor to relate with directness and accuracy, and which, we sincerely hope, will interest American Catholics in this holy cause, and secure American Catholic co-operation in the work of this Congress of Human Freedom, over which Cardinal Lavigerie, the Catholic Primate of North Africa, Metropolitan of Algeria and Archbishop of Carthage, will preside. At the same time we will not omit those general features in the progress and practice of this sickening and humiliating traffic, the relation of which is now rallying men of every nation and creed to the redemption of our race and age from so foul a disgrace. Let not the century pass without accomplishing the final extermination of the African slave trade!

Great as are the horrors and detestation with which all Christians and civilized men and women regard the slave trade, its unsparing cruelty, remorseless murders, diabolical separation of families, its wanton waste of human life, its degradation of our race, its destruction of property, its gigantic proportions, its desolation of happy homes, its ravages of a fair and sunny land, its outrages on human rights, its insults to our religion and to our civilization, still there are few who know the full measure of these direful calamities; few who know how this great crime against God and man is heightened and intensified with unnecessary evils; few, in fact, who know what the slave trade is.

Explorers, scientists, especially such as geologists and astronomers, have long visited the Dark Continent, as Africa is called, and the influx of such in recent years has greatly increased in numbers; yet it is strange how little is known of this interesting part of the earth. Where the great traveller or the geologist has made his passage across the continent, his published descriptions have given us only a faint idea even of the direct route pursued. Such infor-

mation relates only to lines, routes, or natural highways. But such data give but an imperfect knowledge of the country, its geography, its civil governments, its moral status and social life. Desolate and dark as most of this mysterious continent is, there have been many happy and comfortable homes, many thriving and attractive villages, well populated towns, many regions of exceeding beauty, fertility and plenty, umbrageous forest and mighty rivers, and the sure indications that Africa might yet be made a useful and thriving member of the family of continents. Near the equator, as elsewhere, are interesting and happy urban communities, with peaceful, simple and happy inhabitants, living from generation to generation in harmless ease and gentle industry. Not only are their gardens well cultivated and productive, but some of their industries are excellent and artistic, as shown by their fine cloths, neat pottery, useful iron-ware, ingenious wood-ware and many other accompaniments of civilization. The people are gentle and pleasant, their countenances expressive and mild, and their movements simple, firm and graceful. Beneath the palm and other native shade, or within their neat and comfortable cabins, a happiness was enjoyed not always experienced or known in Asiatic, European or American palaces. No firearms had ever resounded within their forests, no hated Arab slave-capturer in turban and flowing white raiment had ever desecrated the virgin soil. We may imagine we see this peaceful and happy community at its morning routine; the fathers and brothers are tilling the gardens, the mothers and sisters are chanting the crude melodies of the tribe at their domestic tasks, the young and gay are dancing on the green, and the little ones are playing and struggling with each other and with their domestic animals. Would that such scenes in the Dark Continent might have continued until the good and heroic missionaries sent by the Holy Father, and by the illustrious Cardinals Lavigerie and Massaia, had reached these interior equatorial communities, won their simple hearts, and guided them to the light of the Gospel which leads to the final home of the elect!

The sudden appearance of the Arab slave dealers and capturers changes this peaceful and happy scene into desolation, suffering, hunger, cruelty and death. Two methods of approaching a town or village prevail, or are followed by different noted Arabs engaged in this cruel business. The one pursued by the famous Tippu Tib we shall describe first. Dressed in turbans and long white robes after the Arabian style, Tippu Tib and his chief slavers come upon an innocent and unsuspecting community in the garb and manner of merchants. After gaining the confidence of the innocent inhabitants, they commence the work of stealing the women and carrying them off to a distant rendezvous. Next they com-

mence seizing and running off the children, and finally the men. We will not now describe the sufferings and cruelties of the route, nor at the rendezvous itself, where all are crowded in the most torturing and stifling pens and almost starved to death. The most alert of the Africans fly to the forests, and these are scoured by the Arabs for the capture of the fugitives. In this cruel work many are murdered. The Arabs, having ceased to find more natives to seize, lay waste and burn everything left, from a cabin to a fence, and continue their march. Those who have escaped to the woods gradually but fearfully return to their desolated homes, re-erect their cabins, and attempt to cultivate the fields for food, all gardens being destroyed. But, alas, they are doomed victims of the slave catchers. After three months the Arabs suddenly reappear and capture all who have returned, and the village is again burned and the lands laid waste. A third scene like this occurs, when the Arabs, watching the return of fugitives, come down upon them again after a similar period, and there is no one left of the inhabitants of that once happy African village. This is not confined to a few villages. Whole regions are thus ravished and depopulated, and the roads are strewed with the decaying bodies of those who are murdered, or who, from hunger or weakness, fall fainting or dying on the passage, or who, for falling behind, are struck dead by the poles of the guards. The country becomes desolated with pestilence, and misery reigns supreme. Small-pox and other loathsome epidemics carry off such as have not been forced away in the slave gangs. Thousands will not suffice for the numbers; they have now reached millions. Such scenes have been witnessed in the region of the Beneki and other parts of Africa, and are enacted *to this day.*

Take the fertile and beautiful region of the African lakes, and from the accounts of eye-witnesses we derive the data of our sad narrative. We will describe a slave capture which took place in the fine and beautiful valley of the Lofu between Nyassa and Tanganyika. A noted Arab and slaver, Kabunda, long residing in the country, being desirous of carrying his slaves, his ivory, his cattle and his rich collections of many years to Zanzibar and turn them into cash, with Arab cunning sought and found cause for quarrel with the neighboring chief, and seized his flocks and drove them off. He next arranged for a concerted and precipitous onslaught through the valley, and seized most all the inhabitants, men, women and children, and few escaped. Pillage and fire reigned. Thus the desolate region of Africa was expanded in size by the addition of the charming valley of the Garden of the Tanganyika. Seldom, if ever, do such regions, once made desolate, ever become restored to living man. But now, the captures being

completed, the slave march, the most cruel part of the cruel traffic, begins. The din of the approaching procession is heard, and now are seen in advance the armed Arabs employed to lead the march. They move with dancing, violent contortions of the body, and are tossing and catching their guns in the peculiar manner of the Arabs. The discordant music proceeds from drums and other harsh instruments. Behind these comes the arch-fiend himself, Kabunda, accompanied by his relatives and chief retainers, dressed in the richest fabrics of Arabia. He wears the gold-embroidered joho, silver sword, silver daggers, a turban of fine silk; and his countenance is serene and complaisant, as only the saints of Mohammedanism know how to look. Next come the Arab wives, the servants and rabble, indulging in levity and noise, and these carry the baggage of the master and his family. But such a contrast in what follows! Who would recognize them as human beings, the body and the soul made after God's image, our co-heirs of heaven? Now see the crowded groups of unhappy beings, already slaves; nakedness, filth, desolation, disease; the mingled sexes, fainting, falling, dropping, weeping, lamentations, despair and death; every misery that human language can name or describe, are witnessed in the passing swarms of new-made African slaves. The slaves are tortured with unbounded cruelty. The men are yoked or tied in twos with the terrible taming-stick, or in dozens tied, collared in iron, and chained together. So great is their load that scarcely has the procession started when the most robust men are exhausted in the very beginning. The cruel slave-sticks, or poles, are plied by the guards to torture the unfortunates who may fail or lag from prostration, and in many cases they are struck dead and left to rot on the way. The strongest men, such as might resist or escape, have also their hands and feet tied so as to make walking most torturing, and withal the yoke is on their necks. The march continues all day. The women are held by chains or heavy bark ropes. Men and women are forced, in such a plight, to carry heavy burdens of grain, ivory, or other merchandise; and mothers, in addition to these, carry their babies in their arms or on their backs. If any grow faint and lag, however slightly, the poor mother has her infant torn from her and cast aside to die, while the Arabs' goods are left upon her breaking back. At night the direful procession halts, and to half-dying slaves a miserable quantity of *sorgho* is cast among them in such a way as we would not feed our cattle. No other food is given to them, and hunger and thirst are added to their sufferings. In the early morning they start again, but not rested or refreshed. Their sufferings are doubled by their exhaustion, but if any should fall behind or halt from exhaustion or from the calls of nature, the heavy bar is hurled against

their necks with such violence and cruelty that the exhausted one, with a deadly shriek, falls in the agonies of death, and is left on the road a corpse. An English gentlemen, connected with the African Lake Company, witnessed such a spectacle in the Lofu Valley, and he adds to his account the following :

" One poor old woman I could not help noticing. She was carrying a biggish boy, who should have been walking, but whose thin, weak legs had evidently given way ; she was tottering already ; it was the supreme effort of a mother's love, but all in vain ; for the child, easily recognizable, was brought into our camp a couple of hours later by one of my hunters, who had found him on the path. We had him cared for, but the poor mother would never know. Already, during the three days' journey from Liendwe, death had been freeing the captives at once of their lives and their agonies. It was well for them ; still, we could not help shuddering as, in the darkness, we heard the howl of the hyenas along the track." So also Cardinal Lavigerie in his great speech at the London anti-slave trade meeting in 1888, where he and Cardinal Manning, two princes of the Catholic Church, sat on a public platform with the Archbishop of Canterbury and with Mr. Edmund Sturge, the distinguished Quaker and philanthropist, said : " The terrified group immediately resumes its march (after a halt for the dying to fall to the ground and be abandoned). Terror has imbued even the weakest with new strength ; each time some one breaks down the same horrible scene is repeated. At night, on arriving at their halting-place, after the first days of such a life, a not less frightful scene awaits them. The traffickers in human flesh have acquired by experience a knowledge of how much their victims can endure. A glance shows them those who will soon sink from weakness ; then, to economize the scanty food which they distribute, they pass behind these wretched beings and fell them with a single blow. Their corpses remain where they fell, when they are not suspended on the branches of the neighboring trees ; and it is in close proximity to them that their companions are obliged to eat and to sleep. But what sleep ! It may be easily imagined. Among the young negroes snatched by us (by Cardinal Lavigerie's missionaries) from this hell and restored to liberty there are some who, long afterwards, wake up every night shrieking fearfully. They behold again in their dreams the abominable and bloody scenes which they have witnessed. In this manner the weary tramp continues—sometimes for months, when the caravan comes from a distance. Their number diminishes daily. If, goaded by their cruel sufferings, some attempt to rebel or to escape, their fierce masters cut them down with their swords, and leave them, as they die along the road, attached to one another by their yokes. There-

fore it has been truly said that, if a traveller lost the way leading from the equatorial Africa to the towns where slaves are sold, he could easily find it again by the skeletons of the negroes with which it is strewed."

From another account of the African slave trade, in *Demorest's Magazine* for May last, we make the following extracts. The writer, after speaking of the two kinds of slavery, domestic and foreign, says: "In the latter case the slave is torn from his home, carried away among an unknown people, to a climate and country of which he knows nothing, and made the servant of a master of different color, with whom he has nothing in common.

"At first, ivory was the excuse. On the beautiful inland plateaux of Africa it was found in such quantities that elephants' tusks were used to fence in the gardens and to support the poles of the natives' tents. This ivory was the ruin of the country. The trader was not satisfied to buy it for a trifling sum, or to take possession of it without payment; it must be carried to the coast; so when the Arab traders became acquainted with the country and gathered quantities of ivory, they seized upon a slight pretext to quarrel with the negroes; in other words, they organized a premeditated massacre. The villages were burned, captives taken,—men for porters, women for the harem,—all who resisted were slain, and the caravan of slaves and ivory proceeded to the coast, where the human beasts of burden were sold, together with the ivory they brought.

"This was the beginning. Every year the merchants of Khartoum sent armed expeditions into this region to collect ivory. These expeditions ascended the Nile to the Soudan and the lake region. It was, at first, a fine time for the Turkish speculators. Glass beads, copper dishes, and armlets were articles eagerly sought after by the negroes, and for half a dozen or so of "dove eggs," large, milky-white glass beads, an elephant's tusk weighing eighty pounds could be purchased;—yes, a slave might be bought at that price!

"But this state of affairs did not last long. The Soudan was fairly flooded with glass beads, etc., so that these articles became almost worthless; but the value of the slaves increased, and this induced the speculators to send out armed expeditions almost entirely for slaves. They established stockades at short distances apart, which served as the basis of their operations. These stockades are called "seribas"; and though at first they were presumably only stations where the Arab traders and Metis bought ivory, they soon became centres of slave hunting when the elephant hunt became unprofitable.

"The seriba of the ivory trader, which is surrounded with strong palisades or thorn hedges, composes a sort of citadel; and many

of them are so strong that they can defy even the Egyptian government, which has forbidden the slave trade. By degrees these markets have been opened everywhere beyond the Bahr el Ghazel and the other provinces once constituting Egypt's equatorial empire, but now under the rule of the Khalif Abdullah of Khartoum, successor to the Mahdi and known now himself as the Mahdi. The only obstacles to the traffic are Emin Pasha at Wadelai, the Christian missionaries, and the English trading-stations at the Lakes Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika. The Mahdi is aiding the slave-traders in efforts to destroy Emin Pasha and to expel the missionaries and all Europeans, and religious fanaticism is united with the greed of the slave trader to drive the Christians from the lake region.

"The methods which the slave traders make use of to secure the human cattle they deal in are perfectly ferocious, and the wantonness with which many of the tribes are destroyed is frightful. If the ruler or pasha of a large tribe is called upon for tribute by his superior, if he wishes to build himself a palace, to replenish his harem, or to put himself in funds, he sends his soldiers, armed with guns and ammunition (imported from the Christian countries of Europe), against a negro tribe armed with bows and spears, and captures slaves enough to supply his wants.

"At present the principal victims of slavery are women and children; the men are killed. The negro traders of the interior are not dealers in ivory. They are employed by great Arab slave traders, or by the native chiefs, like the lately deposed M'wanga of Uganda, who hunt slaves simply for their own caprice.

"The slave hunters surround the village of the tribe at midnight, when all the residents are asleep, or creep upon it from the surrounding thickets at a time when most of the men are known to be absent. The few men who endeavor to defend their homes are soon made to see how useless are their efforts, and their cries of terror, despair and agony mingle with the murderous fusilade of their fiendish assailants, who shackle the terrified, helpless women and drag them away, while the screaming children follow, if they can, leaving the men dead or dying amid the ruins of their home; for if the barbarous executioners do not set fire to the village in the first place, smoking their prey out, they burn it after their captives are secured.

"A trader's camp, where the fettered captives are confined for the night, is a heart-rending sight. There the poor, naked creatures are huddled like sheep, too close for comfort in the hot equatorial climate. Row upon row crowd the dark, nude forms of the captives; youths with iron rings around their necks, through which a chain is rove, securing them by twenties; three copper rings are

used to secure the children over ten, a ring on each leg being fastened to a ring between; the women are fastened in droves, with shorter chains than the youths; but the little children and infants are unbound, save by the ties of maternal love, and they cling to the necks of their captive mammas and cluster round them, hiding the cruel links of iron which hang in loops or festoons over their breasts. Among a fold of 2300 women and children there was not a single adult male captive, yet the inhuman dealers had devastated 118 villages, and killed at least 2500 men. And after the slave drove has reached its destination, many of them will have succumbed to the hardships of the march, for the stoppages give them no relief, and they often die of hunger on the way.

"They are compelled to walk on, at the point of the spear, even when they are dying; and although iron shackles are not always used, heavy wooden forks are placed on their necks, as we put a yoke on our oxen. If a poor creature can no longer put one foot before the other, instead of removing the fork the trader leaves it on, so that the slave who falls by the way cannot escape death. Sometimes they are devoured alive by wild beasts not more savage than the brutal trader, who will break a child's neck before its agonized mother's eyes, when, fainting and exhausted, her weary arms can no longer uphold the double burden of her load of ivory and her infant.

"Slavery is worse than death to these poor women of Africa; death sets the men free; but slavery holds a thousand deaths in reserve for the women and children. They are delivered defenceless into the hands of their masters, slaves to the vilest debauchery, and victims to every deed of wanton and atrocious cruelty."

From the same writer we give the following extract, showing some of the fruits of slavery:

"At the negro court of Uganda from 1200 to 1500 women are slaves to a brutal tyrant's caprice. Not a day has passed, an eye-witness says, without my seeing one, two, or even three of these unhappy women, who make up Mtesa's harem, led to death. Drawn or dragged along with a cord around their wrists, by the body-guard which leads them to the slaughter-house, the poor creatures, with eyes full of tears, utter cries that break your heart. 'Hai Minange!' (Oh! my Lord!) 'Kbakka!' (My king!) 'Hai N'yavis!' (Oh! my mother!) In spite of these piteous appeals to public pity, not a hand is lifted to save them from the executioners, though here and there one hears a remark, made in a low voice, on the beauty of the victims."

Other fruits of slavery, besides concubinage, are polygamy, the foulest disesteem of chastity; the lowest degradation of woman that is possible; the purchase of wives like cattle; utter heedless-

ness in regard to marriage; the recklessness of human life; brutality, tyranny and depravity of the lowest types; the larceny of wives by the poor, who are not able to purchase them, and thus steal from the rich, and this with the connivance, frequently, of the wife herself, who may be anxious to escape from her present dispised and cruel tyrant. The usual price of a wife is three or four oxen or their value in money.

Our religion is struggling against these infamies. But where is our civilization, our manhood, our chivalry, our courage, and the power of the Christian nations? Are these all contained within, and enhausted by, the armed peace which Europe now imposes on herself and her nations through motives of mutual jealousy, hatred of each other, ambition, distrust, lust of power, and utter disregard of the overtaxed masses of the people? Is the life of the nineteenth century exhausted in trade, mechanical invention and luxurious living? Would that we had a united Christendom, hearkening to the voice of the vicar of Christ? For then we should behold the success of the new crusade and the extinction of the slave trade.

The statistics of the slave trade and the estimate of philanthropists have placed the mortality among the victims of this inhuman traffic, on the fatal and cruel march from their desolated homes and from the slave pens to the coast, at fifty per cent., and, in many cases, more. The market has its laws of demand and supply. In some cases the men are preserved, and the women and children are tortured and brutally treated unto death. Whereas, when the needs of the market call for women and children, these are preserved, and the men are either shot down in their own homes and villages when the capture is made, or are left to fall and perish on the way, or are murdered on the march; where it is cheaper, they are allowed to escape. In order to carry out these details, the destruction of the victims destined for death by cruelty, starvation, fatigue or murder, is hurried up in order to save the miserable handful of food they might require if left to live a few days longer.

The country, once beautiful, in which the slave raid is made, is left desolate and ruined to such an extent that its recovery is almost impossible. This barren region is increasing every year, and maps have been prepared to show what extensive portions of this great continent have been taken from hope and given over to ruin. Stanley, in his work on the Congo, gives an account of one of these slave expeditions, which had started on its dread work sixteen months previous to the time when he saw the cruel procession pass from Wane-Kirundu. For eleven months the raids had been successfully prosecuted between the Congo and the Lubriranzi, and now they were prosecuting the same outrages between the Biyerre and Wane-Kirundu. The territory they had desolated amounted

to 34,700 square miles, or 2000 miles larger than Ireland. A million of people were thus scattered or stolen into slavery; 300 desperadoes, accompanied by about 600 followers or domestic slaves and women, accomplished this work. He thus describes a slave camp: "The first impressions are that the camp is much too densely peopled for comfort. There are rows upon rows of dark nakedness, relieved here and there by the white dresses of the captors. There are lines or groups of naked forms, upright, standing or moving about listlessly; naked bodies are stretched under the sheds in all positions; naked legs innumerable in the perspective of prostrate sleepers; there are countless naked children, many mere infants, forms of boyhood and girlhood, and occasionally a drove of absolutely naked old women, bending under a basket of fuel or cassava-tubers or bananas, who are driven through the moving troops by two or three musketeers. On paying more attention to details, I observe that mostly all are fettered; youths with iron rings around their necks, through which a chain, like one of our boat anchor-chains, is rove, securing the captives by twenties. The children over ten are secured by these copper rings, each ringed leg brought together by the central ring, which accounts for the apparent listlessness of movement I observed on first coming in presence of this curious scene. The mothers are secured by shorter chains, around whom their respective progeny of infants are grouped, hiding the cruel iron links that fall in loops or festoons on their mammas' breasts."

It is estimated that in the raids now in question, and referred to by Mr. Stanley as extending over sixteen months in a special district, 118 villages were raided, and yet the number of slaves was only 2300, so that 2500 were murdered, 1300 men perished by the way, and untold numbers died in the forests or dropped in death from an overwhelming sense of their calamities. "These captors of slaves in sixteen months obtained 5000 slaves altogether, at an expense of 33,000 lives. Look and shudder at the mortality! In many cases an entire family of six souls is destroyed to obtain a single child-slave." Mr. Stanley continues: "Every second during which I regard them, the clink of fetters and chains strikes upon my ears. My eyes catch sight of that continued lifting of the hand to ease the neck in the collar, or as it displays a manacle exposed through a muscle being irritated by its weight or want of fitness. My nerves are offended with the rancid effluvium of the unwashed herds within this human kennel. The smell of other abominations annoys me in that vitiated atmosphere. Now how could these poor people, bound and riveted together by twenties, do otherwise than wallow in filth? Only the old women are taken out to forage. They dig out the cassava-tubers and search for bananas, while the

guard, with musket ready, keenly watches for the coming of the revengeful native. Not much food can be procured in this manner, and what is obtained is flung down in a heap before each gang, to at once cause an unseemly scramble. Many of these poor things have been already months fettered in this manner, and their bones stand out in bold relief, with attenuated skin, which hangs down in thin wrinkles and puckers."

Will some of our gentle readers close the book and cast it away from them, exclaiming: "Spare us the heart-sickening recital—our souls are harrowed with its repulsive details, our minds are wearied with the mass of cruelties you relate, our hearts are broken at the relation of such atrocities of man to his fellow-man! We would wish to live and die without knowing so much of human horrors—spare us, spare us!" If such there be, to them we answer: "Your knowledge must be recent; you have been spared the recital all your lives and you have lived incongenial ignorance. But, alas! in the meantime, the atrocities have increased, and, unworthy as the fact may be of the nineteenth century, THE SLAVE TRADE *is increasing*." The philanthropic world would not believe this fact at first, but now it is proved and admitted by all—the sorrowful fact is but too real.[1] The philanthropic societies, which for years have labored against the slave trade, societies chiefly organized in England, have earnestly labored for years; but such methods and such means are inadequate to cope with so well organized, powerful and wealthy a system of cruelty, murder and slavery. If with past efforts the slave trade is increasing, let the world know it, that other and more effective means of resistance may be adopted. Official reports, evidence taken from the eye-witnesses in Africa, and the written statements of English consuls, and the relations of such African travellers as Stanley and others have convinced the philanthropic world of this appalling fact. The year 1888 witnessed the greatest increase in the slave trade ever known, and the maximum ever reached in its extent, number of raids, capture of slaves carried to the markets and its results of profit. The English consul for the Somali coast has informed his government that in September, 1888, he noticed and received evidence of great increase in slave captures. The consul at Zanzibar writes to the Marquis of Salisbury, that "there is a marked increase in the slave traffic carried on under the protection of the French flag." The same reports are received from the military authorities, such as that of Brigadier-General Hogg to the Government of Bombay, in which the General says: "I have the honor to bring to the notice of the government

[1] This statement we believe is correct—it is only of late years that the *fact* has become well known that the slave trade is on the *increase*.

that I have from time to time received reports of the activity of the slave trade from the neighborhood of the Gulf of Tajourra, and I deem it my duty to inform the government of the fact with the view to such action being taken as may be deemed advisable." From the coast of Mozambique, Mr. Consul O'Neill, in his official report to the Marquis of Salisbury, states: "I have the honor to say that with the opinion that the East African slave trade has received some considerable impulse, and has greatly increased and strengthened, I am compelled regretfully but entirely to concur. The evidence I have myself received from the interior is the same." So, also, the Portuguese officials in Africa render the same testimony, and the Portuguese commandant at the military post of Mji Mkwali, Mozambique, in his report to the government at Lisbon, sums up his entire report, under the head of "Commerce," thus: "The sole trade of this district, at present, is in slaves." The same general statements came to Cardinal Lavigerie from the Catholic missionaries; and this appalling fact has given new life to the new crusade against the slave trade. It is not necessary to ask why this increase in the slave-trade. The answer is too obvious: First, it is most profitable; second, it is prosecuted with impunity. And well has it been said by Mr. Harry Drummond in his article on this subject in *Scribner's Magazine* for June, 1889, "*The Arab never retires from business.*"

But why and whence this demand for slaves? We will answer: The mortality on the route in the slave marches is enormous, several hundreds or thousands per cent. The losses are replaced to a considerable extent by new captures on the route, or new raids on peaceful villages. The domestic slaves of Africa on the coast, for slavery has always prevailed in Africa as a domestic institution, are depleted by shipments to foreign parts, and their places, too, must be supplied. Slaves are numerous in the African families on the coast, and the aggregate of slaves on the coast is enormous. They form a ready supply for shipment, and the caravans from the interior of Africa are required to keep up the supply of domestic and agricultural servants. In Africa herself, too, and on the neighboring islands, there are a number of slave markets, and these must be kept supplied by the caravans. The agricultural slaves of Mozambique are worked on plantations in the most unhealthy regions, and the death-rate is almost as great, and yet unceasing, as that at the capture and marching off of the slaves from the interior to the coast. In the Comosa Island and in Madagascar slaves are always in demand for domestic service and for agriculture. Abyssinia, too, is the great possessor of slave markets; carried overland to Raheita, on the south of Assab bay, and shipped at night to Jeddah, Hodeida and other Arabian towns,

cities and districts; slaves are abundant in those regions. In Morocco, within the very spiritual dominions of the illustrious Cardinal Lavigerie, one can scarcely leave the soil of Europe, which is consecrated at least to human liberty, and step his foot on Mohammedan soil than he begins to see slavery in its varied and disgusting forms, and everywhere south of the European boundaries, in all the Mediterranean provinces, the markets for human souls and bodies abound. Among Arabs, wives are slaves, purchased in the markets and used only for the vilest purposes, and then cast away or murdered. The eastern harems make great demands for slaves, and not a few of such places of debauchery contain many hundred slave wives. Among these Arabs a man's wealth is estimated by the number of his wives, and the poorer Arabs never rest in their aspirations until they acquire by purchase, or even by theft, at least one wife. The very poorest and most despised are such as cannot possess a single wife. The female population predominates in these Arab communities; woman is an article of trade. She has no rights whatever that a man is obliged to respect, and the Arab chief may doom to-morrow to an ignominious and cruel death the favorite wife of to-day. It is due to our civilization, to our refinement of education, to our humanity, to our Christain faith, that Christians throughout the world should know these dreadful truths and become aroused.

Mohammedanism is the religion of slavery. It has degraded woman and kept her in a state of degradation for centuries. It is a corrupt and immoral religion, if I may use such a paradox. Voluptuous, impure, lustful, cruel, tyrannical, proud, contemptuous and stoical, the Mohammedan is the enemy of the human race—the foe of God and man. To his hatred of the Christian he adds a national, religious and traditional contempt of the African. He has for centuries waged a war of extermination and enslavement against the colored races of the Dark Continent, who have never offended him. And, unlike most invaders, he does not occupy the conquered lands, but leaves them behind him in smoke, ashes and desolation, while the inhabitants are led off into slavery, and auctioned off in the slave markets of every Mohammedan land.

Christianity is the religion of human liberty. It elevates woman in every land and in every age, and places her under the protection and guidance of that illustrious and noble Lady, type of her sex, so pure and good that she was deemed of all women to be worthy to become the Mother of God. It is the religion of purity, justice, and humanity—the religion that has sanctified marriage and warred against polygamy and the degradation of woman. Her missionaries have gone to every land in every age to redeem the most abject of our race from barbarism to civilization and

Christianity. She respects the natural rights of the lowliest woman in a pagan land as much as she respects those of the queens of Europe. The poor Africans she takes to her bosom as brothers of the proudest races, and esteems their souls as valuable as that of the proudest Caucasian potentate. Her children in the early Christian ages have gone into slavery to liberate slaves, and her sons have given their lives for the souls of the rudest barbarians. When one steps within the realms of Christendom, he sees that the land is consecrated to human liberty.

Catholic missions have long existed in the Dark Continent. Pope Gregory XVI. was energetic, on his elevation to the Papacy, in starting Catholic missions in many remote parts of the world. He resolved to found a mission in Abyssinia, selecting the Capuchins for this great work, and at the head of the missionaries of his order, in 1845, stood Padre Massaia—the same illustrious missionary who received the Cardinal's hat from Pope Leo XIII. on November 10, 1884, for his saintly missionary services in Africa for the last nearly half a century, and who lately closed his noble life at Naples at the age of eighty-one. When sent by Gregory XVI. to Africa, he received the title and authority of Bishop of Casia *in partibus* and Vicar Apostolic of Upper Ethiopia. For forty-five years he devoted himself to the African missions, especially among the Gallas. In the struggles of European powers for dominion in upper Africa, Cardinal Massaia and his missionaries suffered incredible hardships—prison after prison became the home of these apostles, and no less than eight decrees of banishment had been issued by the Ethiopian emperors at English instigation against the venerable Cardinal missionary. His great work, "My Thirty-five Years of Missionary Work in Upper Ethiopia," written at the request of Pope Leo XIII., and published at the expense of the Holy See, in 1886, is a work of charming interest and fascination and of immeasurable importance.

Cardinal Lavigerie, the greatest living champion of human liberty, is Primate of North Africa, Metropolitan of Algeria, and Archbishop of Carthage. Cardinals Massaia and Lavigerie were colleagues and co-laborers in the great crusade of our day. Cardinal Lavigerie was for nineteen years Archbishop of Algeria, and no man living knows better how to get along with the Mohammedans, or knows more of the African slave trade, or has done as much to resist its nefarious work. Numerous Catholic missionaries are doing a great and good work under his guidance and authority, from Algeria and Carthage on the Mediterranean, to the most distant regions of the Dark Continent. In March, 1886, when Pope Leo XIII. celebrated the eighth anniversary of his coronation, Cardinals Lavigerie and Massaia being both present then in Rome,

and members of the august assembly of cardinals, archbishops, bishops and prelates, who had expressed their congratulations to the Holy Father, the Holy Father in the *conversatione* which followed made special mention of Africa—the despised of lands, but dear to the heart of the Vicar of Christ. Father Bernard O'Reilly thus describes this great and pregnant event in one of his letters to the New York *Sun*: "It was uppermost in the mind of Leo XIII. to use every possible effort to spread the Christian faith in Africa, and to do away with the abominable traffic in slaves which yearly depopulated some of the fairest districts in the region of the great lakes. The Pope asked Cardinal Lavigerie to describe to the assembled dignitaries the main features of the vast field committed to his care and the chief difficulties which lay in his path. Cardinal Massaia was there to confirm what the Archbishop of Carthage said, and to supply new facts to illustrate his explanations. It was a striking scene; Cardinal Lavigerie is a man of commanding stature and extraordinary eloquence, and for more than an hour he held the Papal Court spell-bound by his thrilling narrative, while the great Abyssinian apostle, in his Capuchin robes of brown serge, and with his stooped figure and white beard, nodded assent to the Frenchman's vivid descriptions, and interjected many an *e vero, e verissimo.*

"That day Leo XIII. resolved on the vast anti-slavery crusade, and the active and wide-spread missionary organization which now attracts the attention of the whole civilized world."

The Arab slave captors have tried every device for expelling the missionaries from Africa, for these have been the most powerful opponents and enemies of the slave trade. Missionary efforts alone have proved unequal to the accomplishment of this herculean task. From the want of efficient means, and especially for want of some international concert of action, and from the causes we have mentioned above, it is that the slave trade has of recent years greatly increased, that last year was especially noted for the vastness of the proportions this evil has assumed, and the evil is still increasing.

The great question is as to the best and most effective means of accomplishing the annihilation of the slave trade. With the Pope at his back, Cardinal Lavigerie has commenced the great crusade. Societies have been organized throughout most of Europe for this noble work, and the Cardinal has succeeded in organizing them in Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and other European countries. The funds needed are pouring into the treasuries of these philanthropic societies, the subscription list having been headed by Pope Leo XIII., with three hundred thousand francs. These societies have not yet formulated or published to the world their proposed plans or measures, but they are at work, and results must soon

follow. In the meantime Cardinal Lavigerie has visited almost every country in Europe, and by his eloquence and fervor has aroused the zeal and fired the heart of the modern crusader. Last year a remarkable public meeting was gotten up in London on the occasion of the Cardinal's visit to that great metropolis, and the London *World* thus alludes to the occasion:

"Like most really able men, he (Cardinal Lavigerie) is very reluctant to say much about himself, and the best way of obtaining the required information is to lead the conversation into the great question which now absorbs nearly all his thoughts, namely, the suppression of the slave trade in Central Africa. It was to plead this cause that Cardinal Lavigerie came to lecture in London last year, when, for the first time in history, two Cardinals of the Roman Church sat side by side on a public platform, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Edmund Sturge, the distinguished Quaker. Cardinal Lavigerie refers with evident complacency to the reception accorded to him on that occasion, and describes with covert humor how, upon Lord Granville, who occupied the chair, being compelled to leave before the meeting was over, his place was taken by the Quaker, who thus found himself with a Cardinal of 'the Pope of Rome' upon each side of him. Cardinal Lavigerie expresses himself very hopeful that his enterprise of mercy will be a successful one, and upon his writing-table lie piles of letters from eminent men of all countries, offering him co-operation. Among them is one of which he is especially proud, as it comes from Madrid, and is to the effect that a committee has just been elected to further his work, and that this committee consists of men so widely divided in politics and religion as the Archbishop of Toledo, Señor Castelar, Señor Canovas del Castillo, Baron Sangarren and Señor Carvajal, the two last named of whom are Republicans."

Our gentle readers will, no doubt, expect some account of the remedies proposed and the plans held in view for arresting the African slave trade. We shall have to confine ourselves to a very few of the plans that have been divulged. That of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is set forth in the following clause of its constitution: "That so long as *slavery* exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the *slave trade*, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral*, *religious* and *pacific character*, and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

Other measures proposed are either of a military or police char-

acter, such as a general and organized permanent system, with branches and co-operative action in every part of the continent affected by the slave trade, whereby armed boats are to be maintained on the great inland lakes, with depots of men here and there, who would act as a sort of police-patrol. Such measures are proposed to be international, and firm and zealous co-operation of all nations and their agencies and men in Africa would be required. Military measures of a like character are advocated by some, but the current of favor runs for the police rather than the military method. It has been feared by some that a military force from Europe, so far away from home and in a wilderness, would be as apt to raid the country as the Arabs themselves. But this proposed measure is, in fact, a blended police and military system. It embraces a limited occupation of the country—as limited as possible—by picked men, under the command of experienced officers, with conservative education, deliberation and generous sentiments. This force, especially the officers, would cultivate the most friendly relations with the African tribes and their chiefs, would make known and understood their friendship for the natives, their purposes, their aims, their measures and expected results. The Arabs would be plainly made to understand that nothing less than the total extermination of slave raids, and the most speedy, prompt and condign punishment of slave raiders and traders were aimed at. The natives could themselves be enrolled in this military police, and trained to the work of their own protection. There would be depots at convenient places where munitions of war could be stored and dealt out to the military police and to the natives as needed. The natives would be skilfully handled in organized co-operation with the European military police, and no independent measures or irregular operations on their part would be permitted. It is expected that these measures would be only preliminary, and not permanent. That great moral and physical forces thus put in action would, in a measure, nationalize the Africans, would start movements of civilization, colonization, commerce and missions, all of which would receive the support of the international military police organization, and thus the natives would be trained in the end to support themselves. The leaders and men organized in this movement would be carefully selected, and from the thousands of volunteers none but the best men would be accepted. But no man unfit for the task would be taken. Not only Europeans would be accepted on the crusade, but men of Africa and India would be chosen and trained to the use of arms.

While many consider that no international plan would succeed because of international jealousies and rivalries, it is difficult to conceive how a plan that is not international would ever succeed,

because the nations would never permit one of their number to undertake the task alone for fear of a conquest of Africa, and no private or individual measure would have the same strength, means and general support that might be expected from co-operative and international governmental aid and backing.

We will close this article with an account of the plan proposed by Cardinal Lavigerie. His plan consists in calling and holding an international congress at the city of Lucerne. This congress was to have been held at an earlier date, but the Cardinal found it necessary to postpone it to October. The reasons for this postponement were two-fold. First, it was recollected that the time first appointed for the congress occurred about the time of the French elections, and as this would prevent France from having an adequate representation in the congress, it was thought best to postpone the session until the French elections were over. Second, the dampness of the Swiss atmosphere so seriously affected the health of the Cardinal, which had already been impaired by long and many years of labor in the Algerian climate, that his strength gave way, his voice failed and his life was in danger. But he has now recovered his health, and in October this great Cardinal and Christian philanthropist was ready to assemble the congress, conduct and lead its proceedings, and lay before the representatives of the nations his plans. October passed without the assembling of the congress. But in November another International Anti-Slave-Trade Congress has assembled at Brussels, apparently under the immediate auspices of the Powers. This congress is in session at the present writing. We are not advised of the means by which this congress has been substituted for the congress which has previously been called by Cardinal Lavigerie, nor of the motives of this change. Can it be that the political Powers are jealous of the Church? We hope not; for the Lord, whom we all adore, has said, through the mouth of His apostle, "*Charity envieth not.*" Let the Brussels Congress do its work and adjourn—the world will await its results. But of one thing we are certain—the blessing of God and of His Church will be needed and sought before the slave trade is abolished. The congress called by Cardinal Lavigerie will yet be held, and the Powers represented in the Brussels Congress will be again represented therein. No great international moral movement like this can ever succeed without the Catholic Church as prime mover. Europe has no international arbiter. The Papacy is the only element which is at once truly international and Catholic. It is the embodiment of moral power. There is no other

So far as known, and that but partially, each nation is to be requested to occupy a part of Africa, and will pledge itself to sup-

press the slave raids and slave trade within its own territories. Military means are expected to be used for this purpose; and, while each occupying nation will have and maintain an army within its own occupation, there will be auxiliaries, for the recruiting of which the Cardinal has already received five thousand applications. These auxiliaries will be distributed among the States, and form a part of their active and operating force. One of the first efforts of the international military system will be to cut off the approach to Lake Tanganyika from the Arabs and their raiding expeditions. This congress and its proceedings will be looked to with intense interest by philanthropists in all civilized countries. Of all living men who have expressed their sympathies for the movement, there is no one who will watch the measures and results of this great international congress more earnestly and sympathetically than he who has, in fact, set in motion this new crusade of the nineteenth century, our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF ANTI-IRISH BRITISH DIPLOMACY AT ROME.

IT has been a long and desperate struggle between British Protestantism, backed by all the power and influence of the greatest empire on earth, and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Ireland; and the struggle is not ended yet. Protestantism incarnate in the British government, having failed, after centuries of legislative oppression and sanguinary persecution, to ingraft on the Catholic Celts of the Green Isle the tenets and practice of the "Reformation," used the sword of Cromwell and the terrible machinery of the penal laws to exterminate where it could not convert.

The land laws of Ireland alone, effectively aided by a judiciary, a magistracy, and a constabulary skilfully devised for the purpose of the legislator, have exterminated by death, by eviction, by emigration, greater numbers than ever perished in the wars of Napoleon and of Genghis Khan.

Still the sturdy old Celtic stock, won to Christ by St. Patrick thirteen hundred years ago, clung to their baptismal faith with such invincible firmness that when the victorious Saxon fancied he had extinguished the ancient faith in the blood of its professors, a new

generation sprang up of a sudden from the slaughter, the wide-spread ruin, the utter desolation, and confronted conquerors and persecutors with a new nation as enthusiastically wedded to the old creed and the inherited national aspirations as the men who defied Essex and Carew, Cromwell and Mountjoy.

The Catholic Celt has survived the penal laws and the fearful massacres of '98, and swiftly successive famines of the present century, down to "Black '47" and the great clearances which wrought more havoc in Ireland than '47 and the dreadful years which followed. He stands in Ireland to-day braving the worst that Salisbury and Balfour can do with their boasted TWENTY YEARS of vigorous coercion and pitiless extermination.

The Celt will prevail in the end; his endurance will blunt the edge of coercion's sword; his ever-green youth and his overflowing vital energies will triumph over the rage of the exterminator.

Ireland will number, ere the coming twentieth century is twenty years old, ten millions of Catholic Celts within her borders,—ten millions of prosperous and happy freemen,—on one condition, that she does not allow the Imperial government to enslave the Irish hierarchy—bishops and priests. For the enslavement of the priesthood would mean the enslavement of their people, the extinguishing of their faith, and their entire assimilation with Protestant or unbelieving Great Britain.

This two-fold enslavement is the great purpose which Salisbury is pursuing now, and which every administration that has ruled the Three Kingdoms for more than a century has pursued with consistent and inflexible purpose. This purpose could only be accomplished by getting the Holy See to work with them. And one of the most interesting studies for both statesmen and publicists is to follow government after government in the dark and unsuccessful intrigues so persistently kept up by the authorized agents of the cabinet of St. James in Rome.

Thank God, the aim of this odious policy has been baffled until now, not only by that lofty sense of justice which we believe to be one of those instincts created in the Supreme Pastor by the perpetual assistance of the Holy Spirit, but by the watchful and determined resistance of the Irish prelates and people.

It is a wonderful history.

I.

One who had been educated in Rome, and who spent there many years as rector of the Irish College, Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Cullen, wrote to the Archbishop of Tuam on May 29, 1836, regarding the busy intermeddling of the then Lord Clifford in Irish ecclesiastical affairs: "Lord Clifford has been kept quite in the

dark regarding what has been done, and I hope the Propaganda will continue to keep him so. Every little English lord would wish to have a hand in managing Irish affairs, of which they know nothing. *What would become of the Church in Ireland* IF GOVERNMENT HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH IT?"[1]

Government manifested early enough this disposition to meddle with the Irish Church; and in the endeavor to control not only the management of Church affairs, but the selection and appointment of Irish prelates, the government found willing and zealous assistance from the English Catholic nobility and gentry. We shall have to give some striking examples of such unnatural interference during the present century.

Writing on September 11, 1844, and during the first stage of the infamous Charitable Bequests Bill, Dr. Cullen says: "I was delighted to see Your Grace declare so decided a warfare against the new Charities Bill. It is a most abominable insult to Catholics to pretend that it is a great boon. God send that no bishop will accept office in the commission. I hope the opposition will be so strenuous that the government will not be able to advance a step. What a sad thing it is that any prelate should hesitate to declare his opinions openly in such an important case! Ireland is now all united, and we might dictate our own conditions. . . . .

"I fear there are some steps being now taken to have an English ambassador here. The penal laws being abolished, the government may send one if they wish, and it will be difficult for the Pope to refuse him. *His business will be to intrigue in Irish affairs.*

"I have been examining these days back some old papers about I eland. In one of them—it is a letter written about 1650 by a Jesuit—I find that a few years before it was written an agent was sent to Rome from the court of Charles I. to induce the Pope to appoint none but *English* bishops in Ireland. How delighted Sir Robert [Peel] would be if he could carry such a measure now. When proposed under Charles I. a report was spread in Ireland that the Jesuits were in favor of it, and the Irish threatened to burn *their* (the Jesuits') houses if it should be carried. Such determination put an end to the mad project. It would have been fatal to religion in Ireland."

Whatever there may have been of truth in the scheme thus fathered on the English Jesuits, it is certain that neither their influence nor the authority of Charles I. could prevail on any one of

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[1] The italics are in the original. The letter from which we here quote, and the other letters of Dr Cullen mentioned in the course of this article, are all from the unpublished correspondence of the late illustrious Archbishop of Tuam.

the three illustrious Pontiffs who reigned from 1621 to 1655 to grant to the house of Stuart—notorious only for its cruel persecution of the Irish Catholics, for the wholesale confiscation of their property, and the abridgment, if not the annihilation, of their civil rights—such an extraordinary privilege as that of nominating to vacant sees and benefices. This privilege in the Church never has been conceded but to Catholic sovereigns and governments distinguished for glorious achievements in favor of religion, or for extraordinary benefits conferred on the Church. It was a privilege granted as a reward for great services to the Catholic body, not a right inherent in the civil ruler or government of any state.

The Stuarts never did anything to deserve it. Yet we find that Cardinal York, the last of the line, who died at the close of the last century, claimed the right of approving the nominations to Irish bishoprics. This good man, who called himself king of England and Ireland, was humored in his innocent pretension by the court of Rome.

But the Hanoverian dynasty, who filled the throne of the Stuarts, never ceased to assert the right to nominate to all vacant sees and benefices, just as the present usurping and anti-Christian government of Italy claims the same privilege, bitter persecutors though they are of Pope, bishops and priests.

The question of *veto*,—that is, of controlling the nomination of Irish Catholic prelates, and of *vetoing* and setting aside any nominee or candidate obnoxious to the government, was quite an active and living question at the end of the last century both in Ireland and in England. The British government pressed it on Clement XIV. as well as on Pius VI., because these Popes were bitterly persecuted; the one by the sovereigns of the House of Bourbon, the other by Joseph II. of Austria, and by France, become a furious anti-Christian revolutionary agency.

The comparative freedom which the British government, following in the footsteps of the United States, began toward the close of our war of independence to grant to Catholics, seemed the best of arguments to urge on the Holy See for obtaining the power to enslave the Irish priesthood, under the fair pretence of protecting the liberty of the Church in Ireland, and of helping on its free development. The establishment of Maynooth furnished a plausible instance of the new-born liberality toward Catholics of the cabinet of St. James; the freedom granted to the French Catholics of Canada was another. But we know, to-day, how little British statesmanship is to be thanked for toleration and liberality in Canada. The Declaration of American Independence was the real charter of Canadian civil and religious liberty.

But the Irish clergy resisted as vigorously the granting of the

veto as did every bishop of Quebec from the cession of Canada to the death of the great Bishop Plessis, who won the final victory for Church liberty in Canada, in all British North America.

Then, when Pius VII. put on the crown of thorns just laid down by the exiled Pius VI., the British government renewed on the prisoner of Fontainebleau the pressure brought to bear on his predecessors. It were useless to inquire at the present day how the Quarantotti rescript was obtained, what agents and specious representations were used to extort from the much-tried Pontiff, so cruelly used by the crowned soldier who aspired to universal domination, the privilege for the British sovereign, or his ministers, to *veto* episcopal appointments in Ireland. We can only remember with gratitude that two British prelates—the learned and saintly Bishops Milner and Hay—were the most earnest and eloquent in denouncing the rescript, which they believed to be surreptitious, obtained from the Pope by surprise or misrepresentation. Dr. Milner crossed over to Ireland and sped from one end of the island to the other, arousing the zeal and indignation of the Irish prelates against a measure which was a fatal blow aimed at their independence, at Catholicity itself in the United Kingdom.

In Dublin, the archbishop profited by the solemn recurrence of the Holy Week celebrations to denounce from the pulpit on Good Friday a transaction which would have delivered the Church, as Pilate did our Lord into the hands of Herod, bound hand and foot into the power of the English prime minister.

Thus, for a memorable service above all praise and beyond all price, we must place the revered names of Milner and Hay by the side of those of their English brother prelates, Manning and Newman, Briggs and Bagshawe.

So was the independence of the Irish hierarchy saved from mortal peril in what we must call the memorable Quarantotti conspiracy. Pius VII., better informed and freed from the solicitations of powerful friends and unwise counsellors, allowed the rescript to become a dead letter.

But none the less did the British government continue, in season and out of season, to pursue its traditional purpose of obtaining effective control of the *personnel* of the Irish episcopacy and beneficed clergy. If it could not, because the existing laws of Great Britain expressly forbade it, establish a Concordat with the Holy See, stipulating in return for a fuller measure of freedom and liberality toward Irish Catholics, the right of vetoing the appointment of prelates and beneficiaries whom ministers disliked, perhaps by authorized, though not avowed, diplomatic agents in Rome, they could attain the same results.

Certain it is that such agents never ceased to be sent to Rome

from that day to this; and that in open day, or by secret intrigue, these diplomats have industriously conspired against the dearest liberties of the Church of St Patrick.

Let us go back to the date of the last letter of Dr. Cullen quoted above (September 11, 1844). The writer says: "I fear there are some steps being now taken to have an English ambassador here. . . . *His business will be to intrigue in* Irish affairs." Now place side by side with this letter of Dr. Cullen the following passage from Greville's "Memoirs," dated December 29, 1843:[1] "I asked Lord Melbourne about a thing he had once before told me, which is the connection which subsisted between our government and the court of Rome, and a particular appointment which he had solicited the Pope not to confer. It was that of Dr. MacHale as Archbishop of Tuam. Melbourne caused a request to be made to the Pope not to sanction it; but the Pope would not comply, and appointed MacHale. He observed on that occasion that ever since the relief bill had passed, the English government never failed to interfere about every appointment as it fell vacant. On another occasion Melbourne begged the Pope to confer some piece of preferment on a priest whose name I forget, who had supported the government candidate very zealously in some election.

"This state of things and such communications between the Holy Father and the English Government are curious. Palmerston said there was nothing to prevent *our* sending a minister to Rome; but *they* had not dared to do it on account of their supposed Popish tendency; Peel might."

The details of what occurred on the occasion of the appointment of Dr. MacHale to the See of Tuam are contained in most interesting letters of Monsignor (afterward Cardinal) Wiseman and Dr. O'Connor, afterward Bishop of Pittsburgh, to the archbishop. They will be given in the authentic life of Dr. MacHale, now in preparation for the first centenary of his birth.

But the intrigues which the British government did not blush to employ in 1834, and which the stout-hearted Gregory XVI. resisted all through his pontificate with such invincible courage, received a fresh stimulus in 1837, during the administration of the Duke of Wellington, as we shall see from the following letter of Lord Mahon, who had more than once tried his hand and failed in this sort of crooked diplomacy:

LONDON, GROSVENOR PLACE, 8th May, 1837.

TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

My dear Duke: I beg leave to call your attention, as I shall also Sir Robert Peel's, to the following notice given last Friday in the House of Commons:

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[1] Greville's *Memoirs*, Part II., London, 1885.

Dr. Bowring: That an address be presented to "His Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to appoint a diplomatic agent to the court of Rome."

(Thursday, June 1st.)

Might it not be desirable that your Grace and Sir Robert should consider of this proposal before it comes on? I own I have long been inclined to think that such a measure would be of great advantage.

The king of England is in precisely the same position as the king of Prussia,—a Protestant sovereign with several millions of Roman Catholic subjects—and the court of Berlin has long employed and found great service in employing an accredited agent at Rome.

Your Grace may remember the message through Sir Frederick Lamb in November, 1834, apologizing for MacHale's appointment to Tuam, on the ground that he was not known at the time to be such an unprincipled agitator as he has proved, and you will, I think, conclude from this that a resident English ambassador might obtain considerable weight in preventing political and objectionable appointments in Ireland. . . . .

There would be also great encouragement and benefit to the fine arts by the residence of an English ambassador at Rome, as is strongly proved by the instance of a French one. However, I only throw out these brief suggestions for your Grace's consideration, and I have the honor to remain, etc.

MAHON.[1]

As to the "apology" or "message through Sir Frederick Lamb, in November, 1834, apologizing for MacHale's appointment to Tuam on the ground that he was not known at the time to be such an unprincipled agitator," this much can be said, that no such apology ever came from Gregory XVI., or from his Secretary of State, or from Cardinal Fransoni, then Prefect of the Propaganda. There were English and Irish busybodies in Rome at the time, as there are in November, 1889, who were ever ready to boast of their influence in the Papal court, and to pour into the ears of "diplomatic agents" their own utterances as semi-official "messages."

In the first of the two letters of Dr. Cullen above quoted, that of 29th May, 1836, the writer says, referring to the scandalous quarrel between Dr. O'Finan, Bishop of Killala, and his clergy: "Lord Clifford wrote to Dr. O'Finan in answer to his communications, and I believe wrote in such a way as to make the Doctor believe that every one here was in his favor. But the Doctor will be sadly annoyed at the difference which passes between Lord Clifford's letter and those of the Propaganda."

The Archbishop of Tuam who, as metropolitan of Connaught, had to take cognizance of this unhappy quarrel, and who was deeply interested in putting an end to it, as he had been Bishop of Killala when elected by the diocesan clergy and the bishops of the province for the vacant see of Tuam, was obnoxious to Lord Clifford, who had taken Dr. O'Finan under his wing. This well-meaning, but not very judicious, nobleman belonged to the family of Cardinal Weld, and lived for the most part with him in Rome.

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[1] Lord Mahon, "Conversations with the Duke of Wellington."

In spite of his mischievous interference with Irish Church affairs, Dr. MacHale and his brother prelates in Connaught, aided by the arbitration of Dr. Crolly, the Primate, succeeded in having Dr. O'Finan recalled to Rome, where he died several years afterward. This, of course, did not please Lord Clifford, who had also been very active in opposing the appointment of Dr. MacHale to the metropolitan see of Tuam in 1834.

We mentioned Cardinal Wiseman as bearing witness to the bitter opposition made in Rome to the translation of Dr. MacHale to Tuam. Here is the letter itself:

ROME, August 25, 1834.

My dear Lord: If I have delayed so long answering your kind letter, it has not been for any want of due attention to the commission it honored me with; and I have gained one point, at least, by my seeming neglect, the being able to congratulate you upon your merited elevation to a situation where your means, if not your desires, of doing good to religion will be ample and more conspicuous.

Immediately upon the receipt of your Grace's favor, I spoke to Cardinal Pedicini on the subject, and was assured by His Eminence that no objection of the character you apprehended, nor indeed of any sort, had been proposed to the Congregation.

I understood that when the cardinals met, such an objection was raised, the consequence whereof was that Mgr. Mai, in presenting the report of their decision, stated to His Holiness that, in the meantime, he had written, or was writing, to Ireland to ascertain how far your political views might have rendered you obnoxious to the government. The Pope instantly expressed his disapproval of this step, ordered him to declare the bishops' choice confirmed, and added that he knew you too well to fear anything, and that he never would allow it to be suspected that the English government or its sentiments could have the slightest influence on the nomination of bishops.

This was on Sunday; on Wednesday a cardinal waited on His Holiness to urge the same point, on the authority, I was told, of a letter from some Protestant gentleman in Ireland. The Pope, however, refused to listen to anything of the sort.

This is the history of the transaction, as far as I have heard it; and I think it right to communicate it confidentially to your Grace, that you may know your footing and see your way in any other affairs here.

You will have heard that our friend Dr. Cullen has been named coadjutor to Dr. England, a step which I suppose only places a transatlantic mitre instead of an Irish one on his modest brows. A Mr. McAvoy died at the Irish College, and a Mr. O'Reilly[1] maintained a thesis with great ability; both within these few days.

With great regard, I am, my dear lord,

Ever faithfully yours,

The MOST REVEREND JOHN MACHALE, D.D., Tuam. N. WISEMAN.

Dr. Cullen, who happened to be in Ireland while these intrigues were carried on in Rome, gives, in a letter written after his return to the Eternal City, the clearest possible account of the nature of the charges alleged against Dr. MacHale, then Bishop of Killala, and the manner in which such charges were received by Pope Gregory XVI. Be it remarked that what the Pope said to Dr. Cullen must have been said at the very date of the pretended "message

[1] This is the Very Rev. Edmund O'Reilly, D D., afterward Professor of Theology at Maynooth, and later a Jesuit and Provincial of his Order in Ireland.

of apology" sent from Rome to the English government, as mentioned in Lord Mahon's letter.

"When I visited His Holiness since my return," writes Dr. Cullen, "he inquired most particularly for you, and gave me a long account of the efforts which were made to hinder your appointment. The account which Dr. England gave was quite accurate.[1] I do not know, however, whether I mentioned that several speeches of your Grace were accused of being seditious. The Pope, on hearing that accusation, said he could not credit it; and ordered the papers in which the seditious speeches were contained to be given to him. He then got them translated, and, on reading the translation, said: 'that it was the plain truth and had no trace at all of sedition.' He then made the appointment *proprio motu*, without referring the matter again to the Congregation. And he now applauds himself for having done so."

Dr. Michael O'Connor, first Bishop of Pittsburgh, whom Dr. Cullen had left in charge of the Irish College during his absence in Ireland, thus corroborates what the latter says about the conduct of the Pope on the occasion of His Holiness's satisfaction, long after the date of the supposed "message of apology," at having made so wise an appointment.

ROME, February 28, 1835.

My Lord: Your letter of the 2d instant duly arrived, and I immediately applied for an audience from His Holiness and gave him the letter enclosed.[2] I delivered it the other day, and it gave him (the Pope) infinite pleasure. He read it while I was there, and to the statements regarding your election to the See of Tuam he added many an *e vero*, and would often add to the other things a hearty *va benissimo*.[3] He was highly pleased, and did not fail to pride himself on the part he took in your election, manifesting the resolution to pursue the same course for the future, which he felt was imperative, particularly in that case, as he was personally acquainted with your Grace's merits. You can scarcely imagine the zeal with which he took the thing up at the time, and the pride he feels at having done so, which he manifested almost every time I saw him. I remember his saying, on one occasion, that he could not see why people were opposed to your nomination; *the reasons adduced to him were rather for than against you.* It is unnecessary for me to give your Grace a more detailed account of the particulars of that affair, as Dr. England has already done it, and his information on that point was correct.

I feel happy in having this opportunity of congratulating with your Grace, which, though it comes rather late, would have found me most warm even from the beginning. Then, of course, I not only felt warmly on the subject, in common with all other lovers of our country, both on account of your Grace's person and the public principles that were involved, but I was also extremely affected lest my insufficiency might have been the cause of what I would have considered a most grievous calamity for our

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[1] This account, which Dr. Cullen heard in Dublin from the lips of the Bishop of Charleston, we may consider to be, substantially, what we now have from the written testimony of Drs. Cullen and O'Connor.

[2] This was a letter asking for the Pallium.

[3] *E vero*, "that is true;" *va benissimo*, "very good!"

Church at large, and which could have been averted by the worthy individual whose place I held for the moment, had he been on the spot.

In union with your Grace's letter I presented to the Pope a translated account of your Grace's entry into Tuam. He was highly gratified, and desired me to present you his congratulations and compliments in the meantime, and to say that he would shortly answer your letter himself.

Believe me, my Lord, etc., etc.

M. O'CONNOR.[1]

MOST REV. DR. MACHALE, Archbishop of Tuam.

So much for the supposed "apology" through Sir Frederick Lamb "that Dr. MacHale *was not known at the time to be such an unprincipled agitator as he has proved.*"

Whether the "apology" was Sir Frederick's own invention, or whether he only repeated what was reported to him by some officious personage in the Quirinal—it is another of those diplomatic lies, reflecting on the character of a Pope and an Irish Archbishop, which we hereby nail to the counter as a LIE.

The diplomatic campaign against the Irish Church was organized with such skill and far-seeing sagacity, and carried on with as much patient resolution as Russia has displayed, since the time of Peter the Great, in advancing the outposts of her vast empire, till she touches India on the one hand, and threatens Constantinople on the other, from Armenia and the Balkans. The education question was the great move on which the British government calculated to divide the Irish bishops, priesthood, and people. And the movement, to a very great extent, was successful.

The primary government schools, known as the National Schools, were formally introduced by Lord Stanley in 1834, the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, as we have said, accepting a place on the Board of Commissioners, and continuing ever afterward to co-operate heartily with Dr. Whateley, his Protestant rival and neighbor. The Archbishop of Tuam opposed the "National System," as it was called from the beginning, just as he ever consistently opposed every scheme of education devised for the Catholics of Ireland which was not thoroughly Catholic and controlled by the bishops, the divinely appointed guardians of the faith and morality of their flocks.

But this national system found ready and zealous advocates among the English Catholic aristocracy. Their support was always a great encouragement to the government. Unhappily, also, the example of Archbishop Murray found more imitators among the Irish prelates than that of the inflexible and incorruptible John of Tuam. The division created among the hierarchy by this school question was so great, and the passionate discussions

[1] From the original letter in the MACHALE MANUSCRIPTS.

and antagonism of opinions it awakened in the public, were so acute that the Archbishop of Tuam and the minority who followed his leadership appealed to Rome. The majority of the bishops, including the two primates and the Archbishop of Cashel, were opposed to this appeal to the Holy See, declaring that it was a question that should be settled among themselves in Ireland; that, in fact and in practice, it had been settled, since two-thirds at least of the prelates had, with the co-operation of their clergy, settled the matter by accepting and supporting the National Schools in their respective dioceses.

In 1841 the Holy See, after a long and careful examination of the evidence on both sides, decided that the national system should be tolerated, since so many bishops declared that its operation had wrought no evil to their flocks; that all that was unorthodox and heretical in the manuals used in the schools should be excluded; and that both bishops and priests should watch with renewed care that the faith and morals of the children should receive no taint from the un-Catholic or anti-Catholic rules and methods of the system.

Evidently Gregory XVI. and the Congregation of Propaganda were unwilling to condemn a system which three archbishops and an overwhelming majority of their suffragans upheld against a single archbishop and a mere minority. Moreover, France, Austria, Spain and Prussia, where the system of neutral primary and secondary schools, or what is now called undenominational education, prevailed, and was supported by the various governments, followed the proceedings at Rome with no heedless eye. The whole diplomatic influence of the representatives of these countries near the Holy See was used to support the views of the British government, and cast with Dr. Murray and his supporters, as against Dr. MacHale and purely Catholic education.

So here was a victory for British diplomacy in its grand strategy of dividing the Irish bishops, and of getting a majority of them to adopt, in principle and in practice, a system of primary education which was, at best, neutral, but which required sleepless watchfulness to keep from becoming anti-Catholic and immoral.

II.

It was but a short-lived triumph, however.

The government was now determined to push their advantage with energy, and to increase still further the split in the ranks of the Catholic hierarchy. Two measures rapidly followed the decision of Rome on the national school question. These were (1) the introduction of a bill placing all charitable bequests in Ireland under the control of a board of commissioners appointed

by the Crown, and excluding from the benefit of all such bequests and legacies the Jesuits, and all other monastic orders existing in Ireland; and (2) the passage of a bill providing for the higher education of the middle and other classes in Ireland, by the erection, equipment, and endowment in every province in Ireland of what is known as the "Queen's Colleges."

The introduction of the Charitable Bequests Bill occurred about the time when Mr. Greville had with Lord Melbourne the conversation related above about keeping up irregular (and illegal) diplomatic intercourse between the courts of Rome and St. James. Evidently, the men in power at that moment were sorely anxious to substitute regular diplomatic relations with the Holy See for the long system of irregular and underhand intrigue and meddling which they were even then carrying on.

Of their designs—both as to what they disclosed and what they fancied they concealed—the Archbishop of Tuam was quite aware; and, as usual, he warned his brother bishops, and the whole nation, in no uncertain or timid tones. The Charitable Bequests Bill meant persecution—a disguised renewal of the detestable Penal Laws. To the astonishment and horror of all true Catholics, the two primates and the Bishop of Belfast were appointed commissioners to administer this unholy and most tyrannical law,—and the three prelates accepted the government appointment!

But, at once, the great majority of the bishops adhered to Dr. MacHale, and, with the Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Slattery, declared openly against the bill, and as openly censured the act of the prelates who had accepted the government commission.

It will be remembered that these measures—as well as a further yearly grant in aid of Maynooth College—were put forward by ministers while the great movement for the repeal of the Union was culminating in the monster meetings, and then utterly breaking down in the impeachment, trial, and imprisonment of O'Connell. The Repeal movement must have succeeded had Dr. MacHale's policy prevailed of unity of sentiment and action among the bishops in support of O'Connell, and of rejecting every government instalment of justice till the Irish nation was restored to herself by resuscitating her native Parliament.

But neither when the Charitable Bequests Bill was flung into the arena of national politics, nor when, soon afterwards, the "gigantic scheme of godless education" was forced upon Ireland in her hour of prostration, did John of Tuam lose his head or his heart. The majorities then came round to his side.

"We were all delighted," Dr. Cullen writes from Rome on October 3, 1844, "at O'Connell's liberation; it is a glorious triumph. I will present the opinion on the Charitable Bequests Bill to the

Pope as soon as he returns from Castle Gandolfi, where he is at present. Would it not be well to introduce the matter to the assembled prelates at their next meeting? There are some canons and decrees of the Council of Trent that appear to excommunicate persons assuming the functions to be attributed to the commissioners. It should be well to make Catholics aware of the existence of such decrees."

Again, on December 7, 1844, Dr. Cullen writes: "The Pope is still quite well, and also unchanged in his opinions regarding Ireland. I suspect the English government is plotting something against our Church, and expects to gain over Rome. The English agent here is very busy about Irish affairs. Austria is also doing something. Were the bishops united, there would be no fear. But, as things are, the English ministry may be very successful."

Dr. MacNally, Bishop of Clogher, throws additional light on the intrigues carried on at that moment in Rome:

DECEMBER 23, 1844.

My dear Lord Archbishop: I have had this day a letter from Dr. Cullen, which has filled me with the deepest affliction. After adverting to the activity of the English agent at Rome, a Mr. William Petre, in reference to our present controversy, to the interference of Austria, *to the great things promised by England for religion in the Colonies,* to the efforts of some of the English clergy to persuade them at Rome that England would be converted "*were it not for the movement in Ireland,*" he concludes by saying, that *he would not be surprised if a veto or something worse were soon granted.*

English influence is at length in the ascendant and likely to prevail, if something be not done to counteract it; evils without remedy will be brought on a people whose attachment to their religion and to the Chair of Peter has, I believe, never been surpassed.

A deputation, lay and ecclesiastical, should be sent forthwith to the Holy Father. I have only a moment to say that I am, with the greatest and sincerest regard,

My dear Lord Archbishop,

Most faithfully yours,

C. MACNALLY.

MOST REV. DR. MACHALE.

The national sentiment in both laity and clergy was thoroughly roused against this bill, and found expression in public meetings held all over the kingdom.

In Rome, also, the Pope and the Congregation of Propaganda were very decided and outspoken in their condemnation of the Bequests Bill and of the conduct of the prelates who had, without waiting for the judgment of the Holy See, ventured to accept the government commission, and who persisted in retaining it after the supreme authority had spoken.

But their conduct was somewhat overlooked or forgotten amid the fiercer struggle occasioned by the Queen's Colleges, and this supreme struggle for pure Catholic university education was, un-

fortunately, carried on by Dr. MacHale and his supporters all through the years when famine and fever stalked like twin giant-spectres through the blighted fields and among the plague-stricken homes of Ireland's rural millions.

The moment was favorable to those who administered the government to build their godless colleges, to equip them with costly furniture, and fill them with a well-appointed staff of professors and officers.

Meanwhile, the people who should have been saved from starvation and pestilence by all the means known to a provident government in an empire whose wealth was incalculable, were given over, on the one hand, to an army of foreign officials appointed to superintend public roads that no one wanted and were never completed, or to the pitiless oppression of workhouse and poorhouse guardians, and, on the other hand, to the merciless law of the evictor.

What a time to build splendid colleges,—mocking a starving people with these fair monuments of stone, when it behooved the rulers to spend their millions in giving them bread to eat, when a Christian land cried out imploring the exercise of Christian charity.

But it was a grand opportunity for the government to make new and more energetic efforts than ever before to win the bishops over to the new scheme of academical education, as it was sometimes called in official circles. The two primates, Dr. Crolly and Dr. Murray, were consistent with themselves, and declared for the colleges. These opened out for the best educated and most aspiring of the inferior clergy a vista of good government salaries, honorable and permanent positions, with such preferment as the government could bestow, or obtain by its influence. And, to what was at bottom, as judged by men who saw the system at its inception and throughout its continuance—a bald godless scheme of instruction—fair promises of amendment and improvement were held out.

And so the inferior clergy were divided as well as their superiors. And all the while the people perished, or were driven to emigrate by the hundreds of thousands yearly; or, those who could not or would not fly from their native land were, of set purpose, reduced to such a condition of abject pauperism, to a helotism so degraded that nothing like it disgraced any Christian country since the Gospel was first preached.

And all through these years of worse than Egyptian oppression, —when Fanaticism walked through the desolated west and south, aye, and through the very streets of Dublin, tempting the famishing with bread in exchange for a sacrilegious denial of their baptismal faith,—English diplomacy plied its arts in Ireland, as well

as in Rome, to obtain the mastery over the Irish clergy, and through them over the souls of the Irish people!

And all that time, too, eloquent voices went forth from the Irish bishops and priests denouncing the conspiracy against the liberties of the Church and the very life of the nation.

These are strong words, giving utterance to a startling affirmation. And yet, what is here affirmed is not only historically true, but not overstated.

III.

From the second part of Greville's "Memoirs," which we have already quoted, we here take another extract which will throw no little light on this phase of our subject.

At the date of December 7, 1847, while the famine was doing its worst in Ireland, while the controversy about the Queen's Colleges was at its fiercest, and the ministers were stirring heaven and earth to prevent Rome from condemning their system of mixed education, Mr. Greville writes: "A few days ago I met Dr. Wiseman, and had much talk with him about Rome and the Pope's recent rescript about the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. He said it was all owing to there being no English ambassador at Rome, and no representative of the moderate Irish clergy; Irish ecclesiastical affairs were managed by MacHale through Fransoni, head of the Propaganda, and Father Ventura, who has the Pope's ear, and he (Wiseman) strongly advised that (Archbishop) Murray and his party should send an agent to Rome, and that Lord Minto should communicate with Father Ventura, who is an able and good man, deeply interested in Irish affairs, and anxious for British connection. He talked a great deal about the Pope, who, he said, had not time to inquire into these matters himself, and took his inspirations from the above-named personages; that he is of unbending firmness in all that relates to religion, but liberal, and anxious to conciliate England."[1]

Under date of December 15th, Mr. Greville again writes: "I called on Lord John Russell three days ago, and told him what Wiseman had said, and also about (sending) Normanby (as ambassador) to Rome. He said he had ordered a bill to be drawn up to legalize our intercourse with Rome."[2]

The Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, aware that there was in Dublin, in the winter of 1848, a Catholic prelate belonging to one of the British dependencies abroad, who was acting as a go-between for the government, drew up a memorial, which was signed by all the bishops who were opposed to the godless colleges, as well as to the degrading and ruinous policy of subserviency to the British govern-

[1] Greville's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 107. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

ment, and to the fatal "place-hunting" mania which was the bane of all parliamentary independence.

It was urged on the Archbishop of Tuam, by his colleagues, that he should go to Rome to confront there the enemies of his country and faith, and present Pius IX., then desperately beset by the revolutionists in league with Lord Minto, from giving any countenance to those who were conspiring against the liberty of the Church in Ireland. This journey to Rome had been recommended to Dr. MacHale by Dr. Cullen himself, who, doubtless, only expressed the wish of Cardinal Fransoni himself.

"I do not know," writes the Rector of the Irish College on February 28, 1848, "what to recommend about your Grace's coming to Rome. It is difficult to say whether anything will be attempted or not by the government. At the same time, it would be well to have some one here to watch the progress of events. . . . . The Pope is in such difficulties that it would be (for the government) the fittest moment to get him to do something.

"If your Grace could get a meeting of the bishops to depute prelates to act in their name, their representations would be more efficacious. Or even if you had a provincial meeting, and passed resolutions, and sent an address to His Holiness by one or two prelates, the effect would be very good.

"I do not well know what to recommend. A bishop might come to Rome, and afterwards find that the government had proposed nothing. At all events, taking everything into consideration, I think it would be desirable that your Grace should come to Rome. It would be better that Dr. Maginn or Dr. Derry, or some other bishop, should accompany you.

"The Radical Italians here, who are sending away the Christian Brothers, and crying out 'Death to the Jesuits,' are shouting 'Evvivas' to England and a British ambassador. England, indeed, and Lord Palmerston seem to have carried everything before them.

"Austria and France are despised in Italy.

"The Radicals have expressed great displeasure at the condemnation of the godless colleges in Ireland. They have reported that the Pope will modify his condemnation. They have set all kinds of rumors afloat to please the English.

"I do not think the Pope will take any step in the matter. He told me that he was very well pleased with what he had done. However, the Radicals here, who are obtaining everything, by, threats and violence sometimes, and by fair means at other times might have more effect on His Holiness. This is not, I hope, to be feared. *At home* (some of) *our own bishops are working to get something done.* They will aid in any mischief that is to be done.

"You well understand how things are here. It comes to this:

The (Papal) government is weak ; the irreligious are most powerful and active. England is triumphant in Italy, and she is directing all the movements of the mob and the government. A poor prospect for religion."[1]

Meanwhile, Lord Clarendon, the Irish Viceroy, having secured the co-operation of the two primates, Drs. Crolly and Murray, had chosen Dr. Nicholson, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Corfu, as the authorized agent of the two primates and the British government, to bear to Rome the amended statutes of the Queen's Colleges, and to obtain from Pius IX. a reversal of the decree by which he had, in October, 1847, condemned the colleges. It was well-known also, a bill having been prepared and introduced into Parliament for renewing diplomatic intercourse with the Holy See, that Dr. Nicholson would aid the government in forwarding this measure in Rome.

It was a conspiracy, therefore, a most powerful and well-planned conspiracy, against the purity and independence of religion in Ireland. Nicholson was himself an Irishman ; and other Irishmen, high in ecclesiastical office, were as deep in the plot as he, the prime counsellor of the government in their scheme of godless university education.

Let us not forget, also, that these were the months which witnessed Lord Shrewsbury's atrocious attack in the English papers on the character of the Irish priesthood, and especially on the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Ardagh, Dr. O'Higgins. He, too, was most anxious to have a *nuncio* resident in London and a British ambassador in Rome. Not so the late Duke of Norfolk (then Earl of Arundel and Surrey), to whose respectful private letter the Archbishop of Tuam wrote an eloquent and timely answer.

It is a marvel to see what Dr. MacHale was able to undertake and achieve at that momentous crisis of his country's fate. He seemed to stand alone, towering above all his associates, conspicuous in the front of the enemy as the defender of the Irish clergy and people, and drawing on his own devoted head all the shafts of their adversaries. But he was equal to the emergency.

On March 15, 1848, the Archbishop of Cashel wrote to Dr. MacHale : "This morning I had a letter from Dublin informing me that Dr. Nicholson goes forthwith to Rome bearing a letter to himself (Dr. Nicholson) from Lord Clarendon '*Greeting*,' wherein he is requested to assure His Holiness of the anxious desire of the British government for the well-beingof the Irish Church, both as a conservator of public order and because it is the religion of the

[1] *MacHale MSS. and Correspondence.*

great majority. That for this purpose they have altered the statutes of the colleges to suit the wishes of Rome, etc.

"Dr. Nicholson goes armed with those credentials, and, fallacious as I believe them to be, if no one goes to oppose him, our hard-earned victory will be filched from us by intrigue."[1]

Drs. MacHale and O'Higgins, at the earnest solicitations of the great majority of the bishops, at once resolved to set out for Rome and prevent the consummation of the infamous purpose of the British government and their abettors in Ireland.

On March 21, 1848, Dr. MacHale, while making his preparations for leaving his suffering flock, wrote to give Cardinal Fransoni notice of his journey:

"I write this letter," he says, "in order to apprize your Eminence of a report current here, which fills nearly all our bishops, priests and people with the greatest anxiety: it is to the effect that the Most Rev. Dr. Nicholson, in the name of the government and of a few among our bishops, has started for Rome for the purpose of obtaining from His Holiness to recall his condemnation of the Queen's Colleges in view of some new statutes which are apparently favorable to the Catholic religion.

"We entertain the strongest confidence that no such revocation will take place.

"If the judgment pronounced on these colleges by the Holy See is maintained firm, unchanged and unalterable, the cause of Catholic education will also in future remain, I trust, free and secure, while, with the end of our present great distress, will arise on our schools an era of prosperity.

"If the Pope, on the contrary, could be induced to cancel or modify his judgment to suit any arrangement offered by the government, either through their promises or through statutes, no matter how speciously framed, such a new decision would only give a fresh stimulus to the wicked designs of these non-Catholics; it would shake the confidence of Catholics; Protestants would endeavor to get possession or control of the schools, academies and colleges; nor could Catholic priests, if once you set aside the decree which until now kept Catholic pupils apart from Protestants, keep our Catholic youth away from these colleges.

"I am not writing this, your Eminence, for the purpose of reviving a controversy set at rest by the authority of the Holy See. But I do pray and beseech most earnestly that no modification be made in the judgment which caused so much joy to our clergy and people, and which added so much security to our long-tried faith.

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1 *MacHale MSS.*

"And if—a thing which, for the sake of religion, I hope will not happen—this affair should be once more submitted to discussion, we pray that no proceeding shall take place until some of our bishops be given an opportunity to expose, in the presence of His Holiness, their reasons for not reopening the controversy.

"From my letter, written a few days ago, your Eminence can understand how irksome and serious a step it is for me to undertake so long a journey in the state in which I leave my faithful people. But famine is only a temporal calamity, while the loss of faith, or the placing it in peril, would be an almost irreparable misfortune.

"Therefore, since no one else among the prelates, who are better able to manage this weighty matter than I am, would undertake it, I shall, in a few days hence, after finishing the visitation of my diocese in which I am now occupied, set out for Rome, with God's blessing, and there, prostrate at the feet of the Holy Father, beseech him not to give ear to men who seek only the ruin of our faith.

"And, if he entertains any doubt as to their aim, then let them tell him why they manifest such extraordinary zeal for the education of our people, at the very time they allow that people to die without succor and without pity."[1]

Before leaving Ireland, however, the two prelates had prepared a joint letter or memorial signed by the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam and the majority of their brother bishops. It rehearsed the bitter trials to which, apart from famine, pestilence, evictions, and emigration, the Catholics of Ireland had of late years been subjected to, the campaign of slander undertaken against bishops and priests by the Protestant press, and in which the premier earl of England had made himself so conspicuous by his unprovoked attacks on the ministers of his own religion. The bishops then come to the immediate object of their appeal:

"No sooner has one peril ceased for us," they say, "than a greater peril looms up. While famine and pestilence are desolating Ireland; while our people are losing all heart; and while their bishops are divided among themselves; while the revolutions which disturb not only Italy, but the whole of Europe, fill people's minds with alternate hope and dread; at this critical juncture, when the fatherly heart of your Holiness is naturally oppressed by increasing cares, the British government deem the present moment a favorable one to use their most powerful exertions to extort from your Holiness, *per fas et nefas*, certain concessions the direct tendency of which would be, *not only to seriously impair the*

[1] *Ibidem.*

freedom of our ancient Church, but to utterly destroy its independence.

"Scarcely had the rescript of your Holiness condemning the scheme of the government colleges for Ireland been made public, when the agents of the government, as well as some of our own body, who are absolutely devoted to the government in this as in many other matters, formed the resolution to reopen the controversy about the colleges, and to besiege your Holiness with the most assiduous importunities, till they had induced you to recall your former decision.

"Could this purpose be effected, then might a few bishops boast that they had, with their own hands, bound the Church, their Mother, and given her over, thus fettered and vanquished, to wear the yoke of heretic masters.

"We know it to be a fact, Most Holy Father, that the British government have, at this very hour, as their agents in Rome, not only Protestants, but Catholics, not Catholics merely, but priests, and not only Catholic priests, but Catholic bishops, who devote their whole energy to this nefarious business!

"Among these government agents, the foremost is an archbishop, whose name we should not presume to utter to your Holiness were it not that our most vital interests are involved in the object of his mission. This is the coadjutor archbishop of Corfu, the Most Rev. Dr. Nicholson, who is going to Rome on this business, and who is said to be the bearer of a letter from Lord Clarendon, Viceroy of Ireland, filled with fair promises, and to be kept with that punic faith with which Great Britain always fulfils her promises, especially such as are made in favor of the Catholic Church.

"Pardon us, we beseech you, Most Holy Father, if we make bold here to inquire who and what is this Dr. Nicholson, who meddles so officiously with the business of our Church, not, assuredly, for the purpose of advancing the cause of religion, but of helping the government to usurp the rights of religion."[1]

We omit the enumeration of this mischievous personage's qualities and qualifications for his office of intermeddler. The prelates end by begging the Pope "to send him speedily to Corfu" to mind his neglected business there, while they attend to their own weighty concerns in Ireland.

Dr. Cullen informs the Archbishop of Tuam, in a letter from Rome, that Pius IX. did not hesitate a moment to send Dr. Nicholson away from Rome, and far on his way to Corfu—to Naples, namely.

Drs. MacHale and O'Higgins suceeeded in defeating, on every

[1] *Ibidem.*

point, this great conspiracy. Not only was no modification made in the former sentence of the Holy See regarding the Queen's Colleges; but they were condemned once more, and more solemnly, being declared to be *intrinsically perilous to faith and morality*, the Pope adding with his own hand the word "intrinsically."

It was a great triumph over the insidious and far-reaching schemes of British anti-Catholic diplomacy.

MAGNA CHARTA AS IT IS.

King John.—Thus have I yielded up into your hand
The circle of my glory.
Pandulpho [giving John the crown].—Take again
From this my hand as holding of the Pope
Your sovereign greatness and authority.
—SHAKESPEARE, *King John*, Act V., Scene I.

IT is a common thing to hear the Magna Charta of King John described as the bulwark of English liberties, the palladium of national rights, the foundation of nearly everything good in the jurisprudence of the English-speaking world. These commendatory platitudes always refer to the charter of Runnymede obtained from King John of England in 1215; it is an old charge that this charter was annulled by Pope Innocent III., thus illustrating the assertion that the Church is the enemy of civil and religious liberty. It is the purpose of this paper to prove that this popular conception of the charter is entirely erroneous; that the Church, far from interfering with the liberties of Englishmen, maintained the people in the possession of their ancient rights, and confirmed the great charter such as it is now on the statute book in England.

The able explanation given by Cardinal Manning, showing that it was the manner in which the charter had been procured, and not the liberties contained in it, that was condemned, will not be here adverted to at any great length; the reader will find it more profitable to recur to the essay on "The Pope and Magna Charta" than to have the substance of it at second-hand. Here, attention will be drawn to other circumstances of legal and historical importance,

that, so far as the writer is aware, have not yet been fully put before the public.[1]

The reader who is not versed in legal history may be easily misled, if, in considering a charter or Act of Parliament, he concludes that the subject matter in it is to be regarded as new law at the date of its enactment. Nothing is so common, in early statutes, as to find them declaratory of the common law. In the same way the charters were in most cases the embodiment of rights long existing. This is especially true of the Magna Charta of King John, and true also of the charters before and after him. No writer has pretended that the great charter gave to Englishmen more than they already had, in an unwritten form; and no one can truthfully say that this charter of Runnymede was necessary, if the king had obeyed the laws as a king is obliged to do. The rights of Englishmen had been contested by tyrannical rulers, and for more than a hundred years before the time of King John there were laws, in charters and otherwise, that were a sufficient safeguard, if kings could be found to respect them. These charters had been brought about mainly by the efforts of the Church; and so there was a constant struggle between the king, on one side, and the Church and the people, on the other. This extended long after John was in the grave; the fact that one charter was annulled, and many others confirmed, by a paramount power recognized by both king and people, is not a matter of very great moment when all the surrounding circumstances are taken into account. History makes light of substantial advantages obtained for Englishmen by the Popes, but magnifies and seizes readily on what appears otherwise. In the Magna Charta of King John, a Pope annulled a written agreement between the king and his people, though all the benefits of that agreement were equally binding if it had never been reduced to writing. These benefits were confirmed by one Pope in John's reign, and confirmed thereafter by another Pope.

During the century and a half prior to the date of the charter,

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[1] Besides consulting Cardinal Manning's essay, the reader will do well to look into Bishop England's works, vol. ii., and a valuable note in Archbishop Spalding's *Miscellanea* (Appendix). Otherwise, Catholic writers have not discussed the question. Hergenröther attempts no explanation of the annulling of the charter, and Canon Flanagan passes it over altogether. Lingard gives the dry facts with a leaning apparently in favor of Englishmen generally. Of Protestant writers, Mosheim disposed of it in eight lines, but his translator devotes a great deal of space to make out the case against the Pope as unfavorable as possible. The text of Magna Charta as it stood originally, and as it was subsequently varied, is given in Creasy's *Constitutional History*. The correspondence between John and the Pope may be found in Aubrey's *England*, a bigoted book, but useful for the authorities it cites. The general history is taken from Matthew Paris and Wendover. See Rymer's *Fœdera*, and Stubbs's *Documents*, Illustrated; also Hürter's *Innocent III.*

England, as a conquered nation, had experienced not a little the fate of the vanquished. The valor and immense wealth of the first William had made him a ruler in every respect. Baron and peasant, Jew and Christian, were alike at his mercy when his sovereign will required to be satisfied. He brought over from France Lanfranc to help him in the Church, but he defied, as far as he could, the Papal authority. His son, the second William, deemed himself not free until the death of that primate, and he subsequently exiled the great Anselm, so that the barons alone stood in his way. The Church saved England in the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, but Thomas à Becket was not, on that account, nor on his own, to be spared by Henry II.[1] If Richard can be called King of England, there is another name before one reaches King John in the last years of the twelfth century, the king against whom the bitterest reproaches to be found in history are still repeated.

"As Anselm had withstood William the Red," says Green in his "History of the English People"; "as Theobald had rescued England from the lawlessness of Stephen, so Langton prepared to withstand and rescue his country from the tyranny of John." Langton was Archbishop of Canterbury, and was the first Englishman who had filled that see since the Conquest. It is to him that historians very generally ascribe the qualities of patriotism and courage not often equalled in the warrior bishops of his time; it is to him that credit is liberally bestowed for the part he played in obtaining Magna Charta, especially as he refused to obey the direction of Pope Innocent III. in condemning it. So that, while the head of the Church did one thing, the English Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church did another in opposition to it. It may here be said that the archbishop admitted he was wrong, and was punished for his contumacy; but, at the same time, it is not at all improbable that if the Pope knew the exact state of affairs in England at the time, he would not have interfered, but would have left the charter to its operation. The Pontiff reasonably thought that when John had agreed to the freedom of the Church in one charter, he might possibly be coming to a better state of things and sincere in a second charter, so he believed that the king was telling the truth. The primate, who knew John better, never forgot that John was incapable of telling the truth or keeping to it. However, this is anticipating. The reader must be detained for a moment or so to understand the relations of the English king, barons, and Church in the first decade of the thirteenth century.

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1 See the able paper in the *Dublin Review*, 1878, on this period of English history.

The character of King John, without recurring to the terrible verdict of his contemporaries, may be taken from the summary of Archbishop Spalding: "Perhaps a worse monarch than John never sat upon the English throne. Innocent had excommunicated him for his excesses, particularly for his sacrilegious oppression of the Church. He was as mean in adversity as cruel in prosperity. Finding that matters were going against him, and that his crown was in danger, he now professed repentance, took the cross as crusader, and placed himself as a vassal, his kingdom as a fief, under the special protection of the Holy See, thus becoming, of his own choice, a vassal of the Pope."

His reign was a warfare with the barons, with the local Church and with the Pope. In his day, as will be remembered, a good part of France, of Scotland and of Ireland were under the sway of the English crown; but by wars and insurrections a great deal of his territory was wrested from him, and, on several occasions, he was in danger of losing his crown. His defeat at Bouvines gave the French a great ascendancy over him, and there is no knowing what might not have happened had he not put himself under the protection of the Roman Pontiff, and claimed, and obtained, the protection of the Holy See. When the barons and bishops withstood him at home, he appealed to the Pope; when the Pope excommunicated and deposed him, he endeavored to rally his own people to his side. When these could not be forced to submit, he employed foreign mercenaries, and actually made war on his own people by means of outside troops.

He ravaged the country, going up and down England like a pestilence, committing all manner of excesses—he despoiled the monks, opposed the bishops, and, as fortune favored him, he opposed the Pope; when fortune deserted him he laid down his kingdom and became the Pope's vassal. A good deal is said by Lingard and others about the suzerainty of John to the Roman see; but the truth is, that kings much nobler and more powerful than John were tributaries of Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. John, in this respect, was no worse than many others in Europe at the time, and, as will be seen presently, he was better, if anything, than his own much-lauded subjects—the iron barons of England.

Let us first consider for a moment the relations of the English Church with the king. Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1205, and thereupon the monks of St. Augustine hurriedly named their sub-prior to the vacant see, and sent him off in the night to Rome for approval and investiture. On his way he could not be restrained from making known his expected dignity; and all England was aware of the nomination before the worthy prior reached

Rome. The king was offended because he had had nothing to say in the election—a right which he stubbornly claimed, and he, with equal haste, named the Bishop of Norwich as the future archbishop, and sent him across the water to the Roman Pontiff. Then did the suffragan bishops of Canterbury bestir themselves to assert their claim; they lodged a solemn appeal at Rome against both nominations. After considerable delay the Pope decided that both nominations were invalid, though he admitted the ancient right, exercised for four hundred years, of the monks to make the appointment in question. He then called on the monks to make another nomination, and they appointed Stephen Langton, then rector of the University of Paris. So far as John was concerned, no more objectionable name could have been mentioned, and he declared he would not allow Langton within the realm as primate.

The ceremony of consecration was performed at Viterbo by Innocent himself, and Langton was obliged to remain out of England for some time, leaving the see and the monks of Canterbury to the tender mercies of the king. The latter was now at enmity with the local Church, with the head of the Church and with the barons, and had a war on his hands with the French kings.

The barons of Runnymede have come in for a good deal of that common and cheap laudation which is bestowed on all historic adventurers who have opposed the Church temporal or spiritual. Given any man, or set of men, in history, who has or have defied the Church as rebels, or as heretics, and you have liberty-loving heroes or conscience-loving martyrs. The English barons were as ready to betray England to the French king, as their English king was to betray it to the Pope. They did in fact make arrangements for Louis, son of the king of France, to take England; and they stood up against John only when Langton and the other bishops led them on.

It was Langton that produced the old charter of Henry I., and that rallied the barons at Runnymede. It was Langton and the other bishops whose names, with the cardinal-legate, are on the first page of the Magna Charta, and in the first place in that much-talked-of document. When the bishops stood up for the ancient rights of Church and people, the barons joined with them; and when the barons were left to themselves they did nothing, unless it was to offer the crown to the French king. John was a bad monarch, but he was king of England. The barons were disloyal to the king and country; they were rebels, and broke faith with their king, as well as he broke faith with them. They worked and fought, it is true, but it was chiefly for the barons, for the noble classes, they labored; they were forced to recognize the rights of freemen and secure it to the common people, but they little

dreamed, as a French historian says, that they were securing the liberties of common Englishmen, when they were in treaty with John.

The excesses of John had brought on him the severe displeasure of the Pope. Innocent III. counselled and threatened the king. Then he put England under an interdict which lasted for over six years; then he defied the king. The crown of England was in subjection to the Roman Pontiff, and the crisis of the nation had been reached. John was bound to pay one thousand marks per annum to the Pope, and he paid the first instalment of it. At the distance England was from Rome, and without further employing the assistance of the French, it was impossible to restore perfect peace, and there was no peace. A civil war was going on during this time. John and his subjects were fighting one day, and making compacts the next—compacts that in the nature of things could not be kept. In January, 1215, the bishops, by a solemn charter with the king, secured their ancient liberties of election, and the Pope confirmed it; but, in that document, the barons had been left out in the cold. In June, with the armies facing each other, another compact was entered into, in which the barons obtained all they wanted, and more than John would have agreed to, could he have helped himself. After it was signed the war went on as before. Now, this was the great charter, and without dealing with the part played in history by the Pope, let us for a moment see what followed after the 15th of June, 1215. The king never intended to abide by the charter, and the charter never contemplated that the war was to be at an end. Section 51 of the charter is as follows: "As soon as peace is restored we will send out of the kingdom all foreign soldiers, cross-bowmen and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms to the prejudice of our people." When the great charter was signed, and while the king's messengers were hurrying off to Rome to see if he might be relieved of it, these foreign soldiers, "incited by a cruel and enraged prince," as Aubrey says, "were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, parks of the barons, and spread devastation over the face of the kingdom." These ravages were carried on for nearly three months, and these the most dreary of the whole year. During that time the barons were chiefly in London, where the citizens remained true to the national cause. The only man competent to assume the leadership in the crisis was Langton, and he was at Rome prosecuting his appeal against the sentence of suspension. Many and anxious conferences were held, and, at length, it was resolved to offer the crown to Louis, the son of the

king of France, whose wife was connected in blood with the Plantagenets.

Not to weary the reader, Louis, though opposed by the Pope, accepted the offer, declared war, landed in England, captured Rochester, and received the homage of the iron barons at London. After some further warfare the position of affairs was changed by the death of John. Louis being subsequently defeated at Lincoln, the barons forsook his cause, and the cardinal-legate of the Pope crowned Henry III. as king of England at Gloucester on the 28th of October, 1215. When peace was restored a new charter was prepared and signed by all parties in a manner to which no objection could be made. Let us now return and see what became of the charter of Runnymede.

By the cunning of the king it was not to take effect for two months. On the day it was signed he hurried off messengers to Rome, detailing to his lord, the Pope, how his subjects had treated him; the demands they made; the indignities they had heaped on the Holy See, and on one who had taken up the cross to go to Palestine; and, in fact, he used every argument, true and false, that could be made do duty for him. The Pope, looking at the charter, saw nothing in it for the Church, or for the people of England, that was not already the law of their land, and, looking only at the improper way in which it had been procured, annulled the charter, and absolved king and people from adherence to it. It was as if some great landlord quashed an arrangement entered into by his quarrelling tenants without his consent and approval. All parties—king, barons and bishops—owed allegiance and obedience to the Pope. Here was a case that, being in the midst of war, they made peace, and then went on fighting as before. It must have appeared a ludicrous thing at Rome. "What!" the Pope is supposed to have said; "Have the barons of England presumed to dethrone a king who has taken the cross and placed himself under the protection of the Apostolic See? Do they transfer to others the patrimony of the Church of Rome? By St. Peter, we cannot leave such a crime unpunished." John had promised to aid the Church against the Saracens, and this was an affair that prevented the king from assisting the Church. The rules and code that applied to a promise of that kind, in the Middle Ages, would not be easily understood now, but it had a significance that overbore all domestic local troubles. Other causes are set out in the letter of cassation of the Pope, but there is, no doubt, a good deal of importance attached to this one. It was particularly annoying to the Pope, at the time, to find that the barons had levied war on the king; and that while all parties were asking the Pope's assistance, and an appeal had been laid before him by the barons, a treaty of

surrender should be forced on the king, his vassal, instead of dealing directly with him, the head of Christendom.

Of the numerous important matters in the charter, there is no doubt but the great bulk of it was the terms of a hard bargain about duties and taxes, privileges and personal rights, all of which were of concern to the barons then living, but of no earthly use or interest to Englishmen or their liberties.

The rights of the Church, as to freedom of elections, were confirmed by the Pope in a prior charter. There was little in the second charter for the rights of Englishmen that was not already the unwritten law of the land. The charter of 1215 is valuable as a written document, as a declaration of existing rights, as a statute declaratory of English law. It did not contain new law nor new liberties. It reduced the existing laws into writing. The first clause refers to the Church, and is as follows:

"1. That the English Church shall be free, and shall have her whole rights and her liberties unhurt; and I will this to be observed in such a manner, that it may appear from thence, that the freedom of elections, which was reputed most necessary to the English Church, which we granted, and by our charter confirmed, and obtained the confirmation of it from Pope Innocent III. before the rupture between us and our barons, was of our own free will. Which charter we shall observe, and we will it to be observed, with good faith, by our heirs forever."

The remaining sixty-two clauses, when shorn of the local temporary matters that were in dispute between the barons and the king, are reduced by Creasy to five short paragraphs:

"The government of the country by an hereditary sovereign, ruling with limited powers, and bound to summon and consult a parliament of the whole realm, comprising hereditary peers and elected representatives of the commons.

"That without the sanction of parliament no tax of any kind can be imposed, and no law can be made, repealed or altered.

"That no man can be arbitrarily fined or imprisoned, that no man's properties or liberties be impaired, and that no man be in any way punished, except after a lawful trial.

"Trial by jury.

"That justice shall not be sold or delayed."

The letter of Pope Innocent condemned the action of the barons in the mode of procuring the charter, but Cardinal Manning has well shown that no liberties of Englishmen were condemned in it or by it. The Pope was displeased at the action of the English primate, and punished him for his contumacy. Subsequent events establish, beyond question, the good will of the Pope towards the preservation of the liberties set out in the charter. As will be seen

presently, it is to the Pope that the English people owe their present charter.

King John and Pope Innocent died within a few months after the affair at Runnymede. Henry III. was a child of eleven years, and it became necessary to obtain another charter. The Magna Charta of 1215 died with King John. In 1216 the first charter of Henry III. was confirmed by Jualio, the Pope's legate, and this, with three or four exceptions, contained all that is to be found in the one of the previous year. In 1225, while Henry was still a vassal of the Roman Pontiff, the Magna Charta of England was drawn up and confirmed by Pope Honorius; this is the charter of English law that to-day stands at the head of the statutes of the realm. It has been confirmed dozens of times by succeeding kings of England, and never failed to secure the people in their rights until the time of Henry VIII., when the power of the Pope could no longer be counted on to preserve the liberties of Englishmen. The student of history may sum up this period of history in this way: Before and after the year 1215 the people of England were in the habit of securing or wresting from their kings certain charters of liberty, either for the people at large, or for the Church, or for certain towns, or otherwise, as charters were used in those days. In the year referred to, and for some time prior and subsequent thereto, the king, with the aid of foreign and local troops, was at war with the great bulk of his English subjects. Things had reached such a crisis, a couple of years before 1215, that the Pope, who was then the common lord of Christendom, interfered, deposed the king, took the people under his protection, and sought, by peaceful or hostile means, as seemed best at the time, to restore order in the country.

In January, 1215, the king signed a charter freeing the Church in England from his interference, and this charter had been confirmed by the Pope. In June, 1215, while the king, who was a vassal of the Pope, and his subjects were having their case heard at Rome, these subjects rose up against the king and forced him to sign a second charter of their liberties. The Pope, being made aware of a second charter from a point of view favorable to the king, annulled the same at once, and put back the king and the subjects to the former position. When peace was restored a new charter was obtained, signed, and confirmed by the Pope; that is the Magna Charta of to-day. The second charter by King John was never valid, was never acted upon by king or by people, was improperly procured, and, from a legal point of view, was properly set aside. A binding treaty can be made only when the parties are free to act; and it is idle to talk of a treaty in time of war unless it put an end to the war, and render further hostilities

unnecessary. One might as well say that the treaty of Versailles, 1783, could have been made in 1776 or 1780, leaving the events of the succeeding years to determine its validity. The charter of 1215 might have been good if John had lived long enough to have been defeated, if the barons could have defeated him in his lifetime; but if John had been victorious in the camp he would not have cared much for the charter in the parliament. If the charter is to be deemed of great value, there is all the more reason why its procurement and confirmation should be free from every possible objection. No private individual would care to have the title to his estates depending on an instrument obtained by illegal or unjustifiable methods, and surely Englishmen have much reason to be grateful to Innocent III. for annulling a charter of their liberties obtained by methods equally objectionable.

THE HIGHER AND LOWER EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN PRIESTHOOD.

IT is the purpose of this article to review in a very prosaic and matter-of-fact manner that interesting subject of the education of our clergy, which has recently called forth so many brilliant outpourings from tongue and pen. The writer hopes he may be pardoned for taking a hand in the current discussion; first, because he has been a pretty hard student from early childhood, and secondly, because it was his fortune to devote several years of his ministry to the honorable and laborious task of aiding in the preparation of young men for the work of the Lord in one of the most prominent seats of ecclesiastical learning in this country. Now, both these claims to a hearing, which he thinks it advisable to put forward as an extenuation or justification of his writing, are of such a nature as to assure the reader that this paper will aim at being intensely practical rather than emotional or brilliant. In fact, to one who has himself consumed a few gallons of midnight oil, be he ever so avid of learning, the acquisition of knowledge is anything but poetical. It is too closely associated in his memory with lonely vigils, with disagreeable headaches, and with

Faust-like discouragements. To him it is a heavy burden laid upon the fallen children of Adam, and he is taught to feel the full significance of that inspired utterance: "He that addeth knowledge, addeth also labor." Knowledge and Virtue, when viewed at a respectful distance, are a pair of goddesses, ineffably gracious and beautiful, whom poets love to serenade and orators to eulogize; but to their devotees they must be said to show themselves a brace of haughty, imperious coquettes, bestowing upon occasion a niggardly smile as the sole recompense of a life-long tantalizing, persistent wooing. As for the poor drudge of a teacher, to expect him to write grandiloquently about his dreary routine, would be as unconscionable—if this grave QUARTERLY allows homely illustrations—as to ask a weary father who has walked the floor all night with a teething babe on his arms to indite a glowing idyl on the "Charms of Infancy." Let the youth in his first fervor write eloquently on this theme; for he sees the "mount of learning" standing out before him in its majestic proportions, bathed in the morning sun-light; and small concern it gives him when travellers speak of the toilsome ascent, the interwoven brambles, and the blinding mists! Let orators declaim and grow pathetic. Sensible men! They have traversed the realms of science like gentlemen, as if with horse and chaise, taking their full night's sleep, and avoiding all regions that were rough or unexplored.

Now, without further ceremony, we shall set to work, and we think we shall be able conveniently to group all the remarks we wish to make under the following heads:

I. What is the present intellectual status of our American clergy?

II. How shall we most effectively improve and expand the actual system of clerical training?

III. What practical advantages may be expected to flow from that "broader scholarship" which we anticipate as about to distinguish our successors in the Vineyard?

We are not unaware that it will be almost impossible to trench upon this aggregate of grave and delicate subjects without running great risk of being pronounced presumptuous, and we really do not remember what started us to write. But it is too late to get scrupulous now; for, as Eliphaz the Themanite sagely remarked: "Who can withhold the words he hath conceived?"

We shall feel more at home if we be allowed the preacher's privilege of speaking to a text, to which intent we beg to introduce the following conversation with the late Mgr. Corcoran, whose paternal affection for him the writer now looks back upon as one of the dearest reminiscences of his life.

"Doctor," said we to him one day, when he had spent many an

hour and nibbled at many a tome in the investigation of some minutia or other, "when are you going to give us the benefit of all this study by writing a big book?"

"Write a book!" replied he. "I will write you a book larger than this folio, when you have read the hundredth part of those already printed."

"But do you not remember," we insisted, "what happened to a certain man who hid his talent in a napkin?"

"I do not remember," he replied, "having ever hidden one penny in a napkin. I endeavor to teach my classes as well as I know how, and I do but exercise a Christian's right when I devote my leisure moments to *innocent amusement.*"

"So, you look upon study simply as an innocent amusement?"

"Exactly; it is an amusement, and certainly an innocent one. Let us be thankful that so many men have been willing to submit to the drudgery of *composing* books, and let us look on it as *our* vocation to *read* them."[1]

Now, we do not conceive that the revered theologian's pronouncement was the casual expression of a passing sentiment. We are convinced that it was the deliberate summing-up of a sexagenarian's experience; it was an acute observer's appreciation of the proper function of the "higher learning" among the American priests of his generation. It suggested a national condition of affairs for which he was nowise responsible, which he was constitutionally disinclined to criticize, and which he assumed he had no divine mission to modify—a condition which has engendered in our clergy a general aversion to engage seriously in literary composition, and fostered what may be designated as a spirit of isolated individualism. We adopt his words as our text; for the feeling which prompted them will be found to flow like an under-current through the whole circuit of our remarks. But, for the benefit of those who may lack the time or the inclination to plod through a long article, we will try to sum it up in one brief sentence: It is our earnest conviction that if any one of our readers feels that he is called by the Lord to the sublime office of *reformator cleri*, he ought to consecrate his main efforts, not so much to increasing the volume of the intellectual currency (to borrow a phrase from the financial world) as to devising ways and means whereby to put into general circulation the untold amount which already exists, "locked up" and stagnant.

I. By this time, no doubt, the sagacious reader has a presenti-

[1] A circumstance which made this declaration of the doctor's views all the more enjoyable was that a short time previously the author of *The Church in the Carolinas* had been taken sharply to task by an English Catholic reviewer for "indulging in exaggerations" relative to Dr. Corcoran's learning and reputation.

ment that the answer which we shall give to the first of our questions will be a little more favorable to our clerical brethren, and we trust considerably juster and better fortified than many another which he has read or listened to. We think it very unreasonable to become so enamored of a future, contingent *optimum*, as to be thereby led to despise and depreciate the actually existing *bonum*. The Church has already existed long enough in these United States to have acquired a character and a physiognomy peculiarly her own. She has had her fathers, her doctors, her councils, her customs, her ways of thinking and her ways of expressing her thoughts. "Her renown has gone forth among the nations for her beauty;" and although she will doubtless continue to grow in strength and stature, yet her well-known features will remain essentially unchanged; and nothing is left for her children to do but to add accidental graces to her innate loveliness.

Now, sooner shall we believe that water can rise higher than its source, than we shall be induced to acknowledge in a national Church all the great qualities which are universally recognized as distinguishing our own, without predicating every one of those qualities of its clergy; and the very fact that no one amongst us monopolizes the attention of discriminating men, that no one is particularly singled out as an Aquinas, a Chrysostom, or a Thaumaturgus, demonstrates the more forcibly that learning, eloquence, and piety—which collectively form the motive power of Christianity—are pretty equally distributed throughout the whole body of the American priesthood. It is not necessary, therefore, that we should summon the eight thousand priests of the nation individually before us for examination: "By their works ye shall know them." Indeed, they are sharply examined and closely scrutinized every day by a shrewd and inquisitive public; and whether we attend to the judgment of those who pay them the friendly homage of admiration, or of those who pay the unfriendly homage of fear, we must, unless we wish to be more captious than strangers are or enemies, conclude that they possess every qualification, intellectual as well as moral, requisite to the proper discharge of their divinely imposed duties.

Without doubt, the severest, and, we must add, the most peevish and unreasonable critics of the priesthood are to be found among the Catholics themselves; nay, in the ranks of the clergy. As regards the clerical critics of their brethren, we ought not to construe their animadversions too literally, but rather take them in a rhetorical, hyberbolical, parenthetical sense. What comes so natural to a preacher as to censure? It is his *raison d'être*. At the mention of the very name, there springs to our mind's eye the figure of some Hebrew prophet in the act of fulminating terrific denun-

ciations. These sorrowing Jeremiases and thundering Ezechiels of ours are not aiming their shafts at any particular person or grievance; it is simply a zealous way they have of "lifting up the voice." It is the outward expression of that chronic dissatisfaction at the imperfections of ordinary mortality and that yearning after the impossible incarnation of some superhuman ideal, which are characteristic of the typical "reformer," especially in his more atrabiliary moments. Keep on, then, my brother; make known to us our short-comings and spur us on to greater exertions; but if thou wishest to make thy admonitions efficacious, be candid and generous enough to give us some credit for whatever little measure of excellence we have already achieved. Of what value are sweeping assertions that are not based on an extensive and accurate knowledge of facts? Which one of those who talk so flippantly about our needs and deficiencies can claim a personal acquaintance with a tithe of the Catholic priests scattered through this vast continent? For our part, having the good fortune to enjoy a pretty wide circle of acquaintance among priests laboring in different dioceses and provinces and educated in different seminaries, we have learned to form a very high idea of the intellectual and moral gifts of the clergy of the whole country. We have fallen in with erudition, acumen, and studious habits in the most out-of-the-way and unlooked-for places. We must acknowledge, too, that we have been overthrown in argument, corrected in citations and redressed in statements of fact on more occasions than we care just now to enumerate. We would not advise thee, therefore, honest critic, to be hasty in judging, much less to exclaim with the despondent Thesbite: "I ONLY remain a prophet of the Lord!" For all thou knowest to the contrary, there may be "seven thousand men in Israel" less pretentious possibly, but not less gifted, less learned or less diligent than thyself. We could well afford to despise arrogant and narrow-minded criticisms upon so large a body of able men if these ill-natured utterances, in addition to being ridiculous, were not positively mischievous. But deplorable mischief they invariably work; for they are taken up with avidity and repeated with many exaggerations by the enemies of the Church, to the great annoyance of the faithful. Who can estimate, for instance, the harm done by that unfortunate rhetoric of the great Bellarmine in the notorious passage of one of his sermons where he inveighs with bitter unfairness against the clergy of the fifteenth century,—a passage which Protestants are much fonder of quoting than any from his admirable Controversies?

The strictures of the lay critics of the clergy need not detain us very long. These critics are comparatively few in number, and their animadversions bear, as a general rule, not upon the *higher*,

but the *lower*, departments of education. The vast majority of our people are justly proud of their priests. Coming into almost daily contact with them in their official capacity as teachers, confessors, guides, dispensers of the divine mysteries, and stewards of the temporalities of the Church, they know them to be men upon whose sober judgment—the united product of intelligence, piety, learning, and experience—they can safely rely. Assured that their clergy possess these sterling priestly qualities, the people are well-content, and would not exchange their pastors for all the poets or orators the world ever produced. We have often observed that it is rather in his *social* than his *intellectual* qualities that the priest comes within the sphere of lay criticism. He is commented on rather as a *gentleman* than as a *theologian*. In fact, the judgments which "laymen" pass upon the members of any of the learned professions are necessarily very imperfect, having, as a rule, no other foundation than the fallacious one of fame and reputation. It requires the keen eye of a brother in the profession to discern with any nicety the relative worth of his colleagues; hence, the *popular* and the *professional* ratings, as well of theologians and scientists as of physicians and lawyers, are oftentimes seen to be far from coincident. Our clerical readers, no doubt, are already, theoretically at least, in possession of the easy recipe for gaining a popular reputation as "distinguished, eminent, learned and eloquent divines." The ingredients are extremely simple and "sold by all druggists." They consist essentially in a gentlemanly bearing, a faultless grammar, a graceful elocution, with possibly a few other "simples" which do not at present occur to our mind,—accomplishments which we are not attempting to ridicule, for with St. Paul we "wish that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work"; but we desire to emphasize the fact that the accomplishments upon which the laity are apt to lay greatest stress, as being those they are most competent to pass judgment on, are either such as one ought to have acquired at home or in a primary school before entering a seminary, or else those which occupy a very elementary position in the process of ecclesiastical culture. They are, moreover, accomplishments which, like singing or piano-playing, if they are to be acquired satisfactorily, must be attended to in early youth.

Now, we see no reason why we should not pronounce that the Catholic clergy of the United States are a highly intellectual, well-educated body of men. They undoubtedly have enjoyed very exceptional advantages; in a certain sense they may be said to represent the combined efforts of all the Catholic talent of our age. We are not armed with statistics, but we believe that we number amongst us students from every university in Europe, and it would

be difficult to name a professor of eminence, secular or regular, in any part of Christendom, who did not have among his disciples either an American, or some one destined by the Lord to labor with us. Now it is certainly inconceivable that this constant accession to the ranks of our secular and regular clergy of zealous men, bringing with them priceless treasures from so many temples of learning, should have failed to issue in the gradual formation of a national priesthood, who, while assimilating the peculiar excellences of each, should be further distinguished by the largeness of mind necessarily resulting from the combination. If the character of the American people has been perfected by the amalgamation of many dissimilar elements, why should we not look for a like result in the case of our priesthood? We believe that this result has really followed, but the amalgamation has not been as thorough-going as we could desire, owing to the prevailing "isolated individualism" mentioned on a preceding page. However, in spite of every difficulty, *bonum est diffusivum sui.* Learning, like fire, light, and every other beneficial agent, has an irresistible tendency to exert its power, and cannot be entirely hidden in the most secretive bosom. A virtue goeth forth from a learned priest, and his influence is felt and perpetuated, not only in his more labored efforts, in his books or academic lectures, but also in the ordinary routine of life, in his homilies, his catechetical instructions, and in that quiet and constant intercommunication of ideas among the clergy, which reminds one of the interchange of manuscripts among the mediæval monks. In consequence it is no longer imperative that we should cross seas and mountains in the quest of wisdom; and though a transatlantic education retains the twofold advantage of forcing the student to acquire some foreign tongue and of widening his mental horizon at an age when perception is keenest, yet so far as school work is concerned, it seems to us to make no perceptible difference whether a student be educated for the priesthood in Rome, Paris, Overbrook or Troy. Whatever difference a microscope may be able to reveal in him at the age of twenty-five, will surely have disappeared before he reaches thirty.

It is undeniable, therefore, that a grand aggregate of intellectual riches is in the actual possession of our priesthood. If we cannot state the exact total, the reason is that, instead of depositing our savings in some public common fund, each one chooses, in imitation of his lamented grandmother, to hoard it up jealously in a stocking. This general reservedness, intellectual niggardliness or reticent coyness of our clergy is the more remarkable as it stands in very striking contrast with that ambitious longing to gain full scope and recognition for their abilities and acquirements which forms the salient feature of the character of our countrymen. It

is, however, the natural consequence of our training and environment. Our clergy may, indeed, and ought to "shine before men" by their good works, by their zeal and energy; but their education has not been conducted along the lines best calculated to enable them to shine with brilliancy in point of scholarship in the midst of a population but slightly tinctured with classical lore, and unspeakably averse to metaphysical and theological investigations. Their time and efforts, during the long years of their novitiate, were preponderatingly—one might almost say, exclusively—devoted to the cultivation of those very branches, humanizing, profound, inestimably sacred though they are, for which there happens *hic et nunc* to be a lamentably scant demand in the public market. This is not the fault of the Catholic system of education; the fault lies with the materialistic fashions of the day. But the more decidedly the outside world tends to materialism, all the more energetically ought the Catholic scholar to explore and defend that spirit-world which is his fatherland. We mention these truisms because they are sometimes overlooked by those who descant glibly on the "intellectual status of our clergy." It is hard enough that unbelievers should despise what we adore, without compelling us to hear their flippant jibes repeated by Catholic tongues. In the view of the generality of non-Catholics, our seminarians are simply wasting precious time, expending their youthful energies upon subjects as jejune and unreal as those which give a laborious but ineffably childish occupation to the mystics of Mohammedanism or Buddhism. A Catholic theologian can now hope to gain a hearing and a name in learned circles, not so far forth as he is a theologian, but in some amateur capacity,—as an amateur astronomer who has chanced to discover a new comet, or an amateur chemist who has stumbled on a new element, or an amateur archæologist who has had the luck to identify a mummy. It was in a similar manner that the amiable Dr. Holmes achieved his world-wide reputation, not by his prescriptions, but his poetry. Until the days are revived when Catholic truth occupied a prominent place in the love or hatred of men,—the days when people forgot their dinners in their eagerness to solve exegetical puzzles, or lay awake at night revolving abstruse problems, or fought like knights in a tourney over some burning question of religious controversy, meagre and insignificant must remain the efforts exacted from the theologian's powers. As things are now, the moderate degree of ability which will enable him to preach a fair sermon, answer a trite objection put in a half-hearted manner, or compose a sparkling article for a magazine, seems to be quite sufficient for all practical purposes; any surplus that may be in his possession must lie uninvested in his soul. This is, to be sure, a distressing

condition of affairs and should be changed; but as it transcends the powers of any individual to change it, no individual is so foolish as to make the attempt. We verily believe that if any one of the intellectual giants of former times were resuscitated to live in the existent conditions of clerical life, he would do pretty much as we are doing,—"teach his classes" or administer his parish, as the case might be, and "devote his leisure moments to the innocent amusement of reading,"—unless he chanced to possess some powerful adventitious advantage, such as the interest attaching to, and the authority derived from, an exalted dignity in the Church, or the organized assistance of some able, zealous and widespread religious order.

Now, it is only natural that a course of study and reading indulged in as a mere intellectual amusement should partake, more or less, of the qualities inherent in amateurship. It cannot help but be somewhat desultory, nonchalant, and shifting to and fro, as circumstances or the momentary caprice of the scholar shall determine. Instead of preparing him for the office of authorship, it will have the contrary tendency to make him look upon composition as a waste of time and an intolerable drudgery. Even the subjects with which he is most conversant are not known to him *in modo communicabili*. Fastidiousness, moreover, will suggest to him a thousand deterrent arguments against venturing upon a literary career. In Church history he lacks access to original documents, without which he is powerless. In canon law he lacks the mastery which practice alone can impart. In the speculative regions of theology and philosophy he lacks, if nothing else, the presumption to encroach unbidden upon subjects which have been exhaustively treated by the sublimest intellects. And so the scholar grown selfish and sluggish beholds, in whatever direction he casts his eyes, a "lion without" ready "to slay him in the streets."

Analyze the causes as we may, the fact is patent to all that a great proportion of the intellectual wealth of our priesthood lies hidden away somewhere uncirculated. And as to their disinclination to write books, it is amusing to notice that, either from the contagion of their example, or through the operation of the same causes, this disinclination soon extends to the strangers who join their ranks. It has happened more times than a few that zealous priests, emigrating from foreign parts, and bringing with them the book-making traditions of their native land, have taken to publishing, sometimes before mastering the English language; but, learning before long the ways of the country, and despairing of overcoming single-handed the universal listlessness, they have subsequently lapsed into the endemic taciturnity of "learned leisure." Thus in some public

library where sat the venerable book-worms, each at his several task, have we at times beheld an unsophisticated stranger enter and desecrate the awful stillness by uttering an incautious sound. Straightway was each spectacled eye levelled at the audacious man. He, thereupon, abashed, sank into the nearest vacant seat, and silence resumed her sway. Thus, too, unless poets narrate a mendacious tale, did the Attic nightingale forfeit her liquid notes whenever she crossed the frontier into stolid Bœotia.

This attitude of reserve maintained by our clergy suggests at least one compensatory reflection. Silence, they say, is golden. It is better we should be charged with negative than with positive faults; better be too unostentatious than run the grave risk of falling into the opposite extreme; better we should write nothing than load your shelves with books and pamphlets teeming with crude theories, erroneous assertions and dull platitudes. What a relief in this age of verbiage to fall in with a body of intelligent men who are content to read and listen! If there is a reward laid up for those "who could do evil things, and have not done them," shall we receive no recompense for our self-restraint, forasmuch as we might have scribbled, and we scribbled not? Blessings on thy head, sacred bird of Minerva! O, songless, undemonstrative, uncommunicative Owl!

II. We proceed now to hazard a few remarks on the second inquiry proposed in the beginning of this article, to wit: How shall we most effectively improve and expand our present system of clerical training? This problem, which formerly seemed to be of interest to few, except the hierarchy and those who were actively engaged in teaching, has begun to occupy the thoughts of all earnest ecclesiastics, owing mainly to the impulse given by the Holy Father in his revered encyclical, *Æterni Patris*. The subject has been handled with so great skill and copiousness by many profound and accurate thinkers, and the objects specially aimed at are so lucidly set forth in the admirable Title V. of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, that we shall limit ourselves to a few practical observations suggested by some little experience of professorial work.

It has impressed us as very regrettable that, in the public discussion of a question so eminently technical, the share taken by the reverend professors, who certainly ought to be best qualified to deliver an opinion, has been comparatively insignificant. But in this, we presume, we do but encounter one phase more of that clerical reticence, or coyness, or modesty, repeatedly touched upon above. Since, however, they are loth to speak for themselves, we deem it expedient that somebody should put in a good word for them, lest the unwary, hearing and reading so much about "the

higher advancement of theological culture," and "much-needed improvements upon current methods of instruction," might be misled to surmise that the writers and speakers are casting a slur on the labors or abilities of our present staff of teachers. Nothing could be more unjust than such a conclusion; for with the possible exception of a few who seem to entertain no precise notion of what is really desiderated, or how it is to be supplied, or who, like the small boys, measure the worth of everything by the amount of noise it makes in the world, we believe it to be the universal sentiment among those who have treated the subject, that the professors in our seminaries merit all possible esteem and reverence both for their intellectual gifts and for their enlightened and unwearying industry. Surely no section of our clergy can be said to have battled so bravely and cheerfully with very disheartening difficulties. Unsupported by that encouraging contact with public sympathy which nerves the priest on the mission to strenuous efforts, fettered by the poverty-stricken condition of their institutions, which left them but ill-supplied with the tools and appliances requisite to the satisfactory discharge of their duties, over-burdened, moreover, and distracted by the multitude and heterogeneousness of their classes, they have, notwithstanding, struggled on buoyantly, endeavoring to make up for material deficiencies by moral courage and patient endurance. The very fact that their manners have been so unassuming and their labors so unostentatious ought to be an additional reason for securing for them in our hearts "a depth immense of endless gratitude." Indeed, the most convincing evidence that they have done their work ably and faithfully is this: that amidst the expressions of the general desire to perfect and enlarge that work, no voice is raised to propose the reversing or undoing of any portion of it. The improvements in contemplation are to be based upon the broad foundations which they have laid, and will be directed chiefly towards easing their heavy burdens and bringing their office more prominently into the light of public recognition.

So much by way of prelude. Now, addressing ourselves directly to the question under consideration, we shall, without entering upon minute particulars, return an answer which we judge to be at once comprehensive and compendious: The best plan for this desired improvement and expansion of our methods of clerical training is, in our opinion, to give effect as speedily as practicable to the admirable injunctions and provisions of the Third Plenary Council, and then entrust the management of studies and the arrangement of necessary details, under the supreme direction of the episcopate, to the professors themselves, who no longer, as heretofore, shall remain in unorganized isolation, but be formed into a confederation

of thoroughly and, as nearly as possible, uniformly organized faculties.

The palmary enactment of the Council on the subject of clerical training, the one which educators will look on as the most fundamental in its character and the most far-reaching in its influence, is, beyond doubt, that which decrees the establishment in each ecclesiastical province of a preparatory institution entirely separate not only from the theological seminary, but also (where it is feasible) from colleges destined for the education of the laity. If we could believe that our readers needed arguments to make them apprehend the reasonableness and wisdom of this ordinance which disjoins the preparatory seminary from every other educational institution whatsoever, we could count them off reasons as plenty as blackberries; but we should consider it an impertinence to set about proving that which is all but self-evident. What is most imperatively demanded now, is that we should pass beyond the inceptive stage of talking, repeating, hesitating, sighing, doubting, waiting, on to the resolute step of realizing and effecting. The stage of cautious deliberation, as Sallust taught us many years ago, is an important element in the success of great undertakings, provided it give place in due time to the quick and energetic execution of our resolves. It seems, therefore, to be definitively determined, ordained and sanctioned that *puerorum seminaria* shall be erected and maintained for the sole and exclusive purpose of preparing clerical candidates for entrance into the theological seminaries. In accordance with the express desire of the Council of Trent, the boys are to be admitted at the age of twelve upon the termination of their rudimentary studies, thus securing for the entire process of their training that singleness and precision of aim—that symmetrizing and proportioning of every detail to the requirements of mature years in which Aristotle places the essence of a perfect education. This preliminary or academic period is to have a uniform duration of six years, which is certainly long enough and short enough, under an enlightened direction, to equip the student for the efficient prosecution of the higher and more professional branches. Whether these preparatory colleges shall be established on a provincial or a diocesan basis is a problem the practical solution of which has been wisely reserved by the Council to the discretion of the episcopate. In favor of a single college for each province may be adduced the practicability of erecting more commodious edifices, better furnished with all necessary appliances, and the greater likelihood of obtaining teaching corps thoroughly fitted for their duties. These considerations are to be balanced over against those which tell in favor of diocesan seminaries; among others the desirableness of giving to each bishop full

opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the individual dispositions of these chosen lambs of his flock, and the evident wish of Holy Church that every Ordinary should be surrounded by his young Levites each time that he performs a solemn function in his cathedral church. For this last reason, too, and for many others which might be mentioned, it would seem that the proper place for the location of the preparatory seminaries is in the heart of great cities and within the shadow of the cathedral. The educational resources of all our large cities are becoming daily more and more inexhaustible, and who is more likely to take advantage of them than the earnest, well-disciplined Catholic seminarian? Is it our intention to introduce the study of the experimental sciences without the indispensable plant? or shall we spend millions of dollars in fitting up museums, cabinets, laboratories, etc., when the existing ones, public and private, would be readily thrown open to us for the asking?

But these are considerations which lie properly within the province of the hierarchy, upon whom we have no desire to obtrude any uncalled for and unnecessary advice. We will reverently assume, then, that all the injunctions of the Council will be effectuated as speedily as prudence shall tolerate. The edifices will be built and furnished, the faculties enlarged, so that each professor shall have his special department, and every precaution be taken to insure efficiency and discipline. Thenceforward the only element of real importance is the constitution of the professoriate. In like manner, most indulgent of readers, art thou, after stocking thy kitchen and replenishing thy larder, dependent for the excellence of thy meals upon the skill of thy cook. Not one thousand chidings nor ten thousand directions can sweeten thy broth, or do thy meat, if thy culinary artist be not competent.

Now, we have already put upon record our settled persuasion respecting the *personnel* of the present instructors of our clergy; and we have intimated (what we here propose to insist upon) that the one great *desideratum* in our seminaries is the coalescence of the individual professors into well-organized faculties. We do not believe that an educational Napoleon would ask for veteran battalions better fitted than ours to serve as *cadres* in the formation of an intellectual *Grande Armée;* but in education, as in every other phase of human activity, the *individual* is become of very secondary importance in comparison with the *organization*. The days when an Ajax or a Hector was able, single-handed, to turn the tide of battle; the days when it required the genius of a Columbus to cross the ocean, or of a Charlemagne to rule a nation; the days, in short, of the paramount influence of individual greatness have passed away never to return. Mankind in general, being

made up of men of ordinary stature, have learned to entertain a wholesome distrust of whatever towers above the crowd, and have discovered, too, that there is a magic power in organization which nothing can withstand. Hence, the history of civilization, from the time when men combined against a Nimrod or a tiger until the day of Waterloo, when united Europe crushed the Corsican brigand, is merely the record of the efforts made and the expedients devised by the human race to prevent the undue concentration of wealth, power and learning in the hands or the brains of the few extraordinarily gifted personages.

Now certainly, if the instinct of organization were banished from every other breast, it ought to find a loyal welcome in the heart of the school-teacher. He is the official exponent of *system*, *method* and *order*. In his character of teacher he can scarcely be said to possess an independent personality; he is a member of something vastly larger, one wheel of many in an ingenious mechanism. He is not an original investigator free to roam at will over unexplored wildernesses; he has a definite amount of ground, with well-ascertained limits, to patrol; he begins where another leaves off, and ends where the round of a third begins. He is, indeed, the embodiment of certain great principles, literary, scientific or religious; but only the partial embodiment, for he has colleagues who are intrusted with the defence or enunciation of those same principles in different phases or in other stages of development. A thorough organization is therefore as indispensable to the well-being and efficiency of our seminaries as it is in the case of an army or the cabinets of princes.

This, we presume, no one denies; but to whom shall we look for the effectuation and maintenance of it? To the bishop? It would be as reasonable to expect from him minute directions regarding the preparation of his dinner. The vivifying presence and watchful supervision of the bishop is, indeed, the very soul, the light, the genial heat of a seminary. On every wall, on every class, on every text-book of it ought to be inscribed the monumental axiom of the martyr Ignatius: *Whatever is done without the bishop is wicked and invalid*. But St. Paul in his long list of qualifications for the episcopacy does not include pedagogics; indeed, pedagogism is, as a late Pope wittily observed, a very poor training-school for the pastoral office. Be not so cruel as to rob the schoolmaster of the humble but hard-earned glory of his specialty. "May thy good fortune preserve thee, O King," said the affronted old harper to the one-eyed Antigonus, "from ever knowing as much about harps as a wandering minstrel."

Equally futile and preposterous would it be to annex the management of studies, the arrangement of classes, the choice of text-

books, the conduct of examinations, and whatever else goes to make up what may be called the *pedagogy* of the seminary, to the other functions of the rector. The rector has very important and well-defined duties, for the proper discharge of which he must be vested with an autocracy as absolute as Washington's well-known adage claims for the commander of an army. Our rectors, moreover, in addition to the proper rectorial obligations of maintaining perfect discipline among professors and among students, and pronouncing that fateful word which determines the election or rejection of candidates for the priesthood, are generally laden with the sole responsibility for the financial administration of their respective institutions. Now, any one who desires further to increase their burdens must be said either to entertain very primitive notions respecting the complex work of a seminary, or to contemplate the possibility of one man possessing an accumulation of moral, intellectual and physical endowments not easily to be met with in a very able and numerous corporate body. But, some reader murmurs, may we not entrust the sole management and responsibility to the rector and let him draw at will upon the intellectual resources of his professors? You may, indeed, good reader, but with very disappointing results. For of all men in the world, the professor is least disposed to concern himself about things not enjoined upon him. Once assured that his only conscientious duty is to teach certain classes in a certain determinate way out of certain text-books laid before him, he will do it "as well as he knows how," but when his work is finished he will withdraw to the congenial solitude of his cell to "devote his leisure moments to the innocent amusement of study"; and the troubles and anxieties of the responsible executive of the seminary will worry him about as much as yours do or the Pope's. So fascinating, in the case of genuine professors, does this temptation to hibernate among books become by indulgence, that we fear not a few of them would view the present writing with intense disfavor if they apprehended it might be at all instrumental in effecting a change in their present condition. Nevertheless, there are interests far higher than those of personal comfort and predilection; and for the sake of these higher interests we hope that the reign of "isolated individualism," which has continued long enough, if not to do much positive harm, at least to deprive us of incalculable benefits, will soon give place to the rule of well-organized faculties. In advocating the substitution of the latter system for the former, we are proposing nothing novel or revolutionary. The name of faculty still remains to us as the empty shell of a hallowed institute introduced and fostered by Holy Church, and by her regarded as the nucleus and kernel of the intellectual life of Christendom. Mother Church is

too intimately acquainted with human nature to build any of her great institutions upon the treacherous foundation of individual greatness. Herself the most perfect example of an organized body,—able to give full employment to each man's natural gifts, but able likewise to dispense with them,—she framed the charters of her great universities after the model of her own constitution. Whereas pagan Wisdom took up her abode in the souls of particular philosophers—Platos, Aristotles, Zenos—whose doctrine was their private possession, Catholic Wisdom "dwells in counsel"; for our common heritage can become the exclusive property of no one. To her belongs the glory of having taught the learned world the superiority of organized work over isolated labors; and when infidel universities, academies, institutes or associations turn their united energies against her, they are opposing to her the mighty engine devised and fabricated by herself.

What has been lacking to our professors heretofore? Ability? earnestness? loyalty? erudition? diligence? Not one of these great qualities, nor any other which it is possible for individuals to inherit or acquire. But our theologians, philosophers, humanists have been so many isolated individuals, forming no school or association, but hoarding up knowledge within their souls, and taking it with them to their graves. We blame no one in particular; yet we cannot but deplore that such a state of affairs should have lasted so long. And last it will until the formation of officially-recognized and authoritatively-constituted faculties in each of our great centres of ecclesiastical learning,—until the professors are drawn forth from the hermitage of cell and class-room to become a living power, whose influence shall be felt not merely within the walls of their several institutions, but throughout the length and breadth of the land.

We conceive, therefore, that we should regard every one of the great seminaries which we are enjoined by the late Council to found or enlarge, as being to all essential purposes a university. They may not be denominated as such, and they will possess no independent authority to confer degrees. But in an educational view these are very secondary considerations. If they are properly conducted there is no imaginable reason why their students should be in any way inferior to those who are educated either in Europe or in Washington; or why, after a six years' academic course and a half-dozen more years spent on philosophy and theology, their alumni should not be prepared to acquit themselves with credit before any Board of Examiners. Here we are haunted with a vague apprehension that some reader who has not taken the trouble to follow our thought closely, but has hopped about our pages like a *Gryllus agilis*, may light suddenly upon these last observations of

ours, and pronounce off-handedly that they contain a covert fling at the new university so auspiciously inaugurated amongst us. For the urgent purpose of forestalling so unkindly a suspicion, we must state plainly what we conceive to be the proper mission and function of the Washington University relatively to the existent or prospective theological seminaries of the country. If we intrude our subjective or personal views the poor excuse must be that our article has been subjective and personal from the first line of it. If, then, it be worth the recording, we will state that we have followed the project of establishing an American university with lively interest and hearty sympathy from its earliest conception until its triumphant realization through the united agency of the Vicar of Christ and the venerable hierarchy of the nation. Indeed, our only regret has been that circumstances deprived us for so long of an institution indispensable to the satisfactory development of ecclesiastical culture. But we are not certain that the country at large has apprehended with precision just what we lacked heretofore and what the university aims at supplying. It seems to us that not a few look upon this new institution as a sort of educational "rod of Moses," ready to swallow up all that is great or "high" in our other divinity schools. There appears to exist in the breasts of many an apprehension that the reaction of the university upon the seminaries will be unfavorable to the intellectual vigor of the latter. "Slight as has been the figure which our seminaries have cut in the past, slighter still," they argue, "will it be in the future. The preponderant attractions at Washington, the superior celebrity of its professors, the prestige of Papal and national recognition, the splendor of its academic degrees, will have a tendency to drain the various seminaries of whatever they most cherish. The ablest professors will consider their chairs as serviceable stepping-stones to the more distinguished *cathedræ* of the university; the more brilliant students will be uneasy and dissatisfied until their talents are honored by a transfer from what they will look on as little above a 'hedge-school' to the one genuine seat of learning." These murmurings, and many others of like import, are false alarms,—but not absurd or foolish; for the dangers which are apprehended really exist, though happily they are extremely remote. It may, indeed, be laid down as a pretty safe rule for practical guidance, that any opinion widely entertained among the priesthood, while not necessarily or invariably correct, is always well worth pondering.

The circumstance that this contingent declension of the seminary is foreseen and feared is a strong guarantee that no pains will be spared by those whom it concerns to avert it. In consequence, we anticipate that the mutual reaction of university and seminary will be wholesome and bracing in the extreme. The new univer-

sity, so far as regards theology, and prescinding from the adscititious function of advancing post-ordination studies, is nothing more than a seminary. It labors, too, under several disadvantages: it is of to-day, without the prestige of (an humble, perhaps, but) hard-won reputation; what it gains in splendor by its national character it loses in the hold which other institutions have taken upon local patriotism; finally,—the greatest disadvantage of all,—too many exorbitant expectations are forming respecting it, as if, forsooth, it will not have to achieve its destiny on its own merits, like everybody else, or as if within its walls, by some magic process, the "higher learning" will be gulped down at a draught! The university, if we understand the aims of its accomplished rector, is not a strange exotic, or an importation from abroad, unlike and unallied to anything we have been hitherto acquainted with; it claims, equally with other ecclesiastical institutions, a lineal descent from the Kenricks, the Spaldings, the Brownsons, and the other fathers and doctors of the nation, and a consequent right to share the inheritance bequeathed to us. What advantage, then, hath the university? One, but a great one. It starts out upon its career with the traditions, the machinery, the approved methods, the innate dignity of an organized university. It does not claim a superiority of genius, either as regards its professors or its students; it ought, however, to claim and exhibit a vast superiority of *system;* for, deprived of this, its days would be few and evil.

Our opinion is, and has been for many a year, that the time is ripe for a complete remodelling of our seminaries on the basis of university methods. Let us spell *faculty* with a capital F. Let the professors meet in weekly session to deliberate as official senators, under the presidency of the rector, concerning the educational needs of their institution. The oftener the bishop drops in among them, the better. When each seminary has been thoroughly reorganized, let the different faculties throughout the country come together and communicate their ideas. Call us nevermore prophet or pedagogue if the result will not be stupendous. Such an awakening of sleepers! such drilling! such marshalling! such clouds of venerable dust flying about the air! and finally, such a concremation of antiquated text-books as never was seen on a college campus! We need say no more; for either our dream will be verified, in which event the professors will attend to the rest; or it will not, and then words were useless.

Let us round off our remarks on seminaries, and at the same time relieve the dulness of our page, by relating, in the words of Macaulay, the anecdote of King Frederic William's "Potsdam giants." The story is a little stale, but the moral is fresh and apposite.

"The ambition of the king," says the essayist, "was to form a brigade of giants, and every country was ransacked by his agents for men above the ordinary stature. These researches were not confined to Europe. No head that towered above the crowd in the bazaars of Aleppo, of Cairo, or of Surat, could escape the crimps of Frederic William. One Irishman more than seven feet high, who was picked up in London by the Prussian ambassador, received a bounty of near thirteen hundred pounds sterling, very much more than the ambassador's salary. This extravagance was the more absurd, because a stout youth of five feet eight, who might have been procured for a few dollars, would in all probability have been a much more valuable soldier."

It was not with brigades of overgrown giants (whom he disbanded the instant he came to the throne), but with ordinary mortals metamorphosed by discipline and organization into regiments of irresistible soldiers, that the great Frederic won victory and immortal renown.

III. Our views on the last proposed query, viz.—"What advantages may be expected to flow from the prospective 'broader clerical scholarship?'"—are so definitely foreshadowed in all the foregoing remarks that we need not fag the reader nor ourselves by developing them at any length. To be consistent, we must reply that the realization of the desired advantages will be mainly conditioned on such a revolution in the actual habits and surroundings of clerical life as shall incite the priesthood to give themselves, heart and soul, to intellectual pursuits, by holding out to them a clear prospect that abstruse meditations, investigations and researches will become of some practical value to them. We hope no one will accuse us of taking a low utilitarian view of knowledge. We admit there will always be a select number of quiet-loving, harmless, dreamy book-worms, who will "love Knowledge for her own sake,"—that is, who will make of study not a means, but an end, an "amusement" as fascinating to them as are the charms of social intercourse to the generality of men. But the book-worm is an oddity, a *lusus naturæ*, or (we confess it with a sigh) a specimen, growing ever rarer in this busy age and nation, of an evanescent genus. The majority of men, more especially of Americans, and most especially of American Catholic priests, are intensely men of action, with a clear-sighted vision of what they are aiming at in life, and a consequent disregard of whatever does not conduce to its attainment. This principle is as applicable to men of a studious bent as it is to those whom we call *business men*. To ensure a copious *supply* you must first assure people of the existence of a steady *demand*.

In intellectuals, then, we hold to the Darwinian theory of natural

selection. We are not ready to affirm that our primogenitors forfeited their tails as the penalty of neglecting to swing them; but experience has amply satisfied us that Greek and Hebrew (yea, and Latin), and many another hard-won branch of learning, begin full soon to shrink and wither and disappear from the soul when deprived of the vital sustenance of practical exercise. It would be as silly in us, therefore, to cram the heads of the rising generation with excellent lore without taking care to provide them with opportunities for the manifestation and employment of it, as it would be to lock up a vast store of perishable fruits in our attics, and leave it there to rot. What remedy, then, do we suggest? We are not certain that *suggesting* is our *forte* or proper vocation; we much prefer the careless irresponsibility of philosophizing. However, if you tie us down, we shall be compelled to deliver our oracle.

We do not think that those of us whose character is already mature and hardened will ever be induced to exchange the regnant emblem, the taciturn Owl, for that whilom darling of parsons, the garrulous Popinjay.

> "We are not gamesome; we do lack some part
> Of that quick spirit that is in Antony."

Our education and inveterate habits have developed the judgment at the expense of the imagination. We are not sure there is a poet amongst us, now that Ryan is dead; few claim to be orators; fewer still to be writers. And shall we begin at forty or upwards, like Monsieur Jourdain, to study neglected rudiments? to cultivate unexercised faculties? to think on paper? to blow up our concentrated ideas into distended soap-bubbles? We fear it is too late, beloved reformer; abandon us to our idols. Or rather hold us up to the young as terrible examples of what they should most carefully avoid. Even thus did savage conquerors of yore turn the skins of their slaughtered foes into drum-heads wherewith to rouse the valor of their followers. Allowing, then, the present untoward generation to draw up its feet upon its bed and die, fasten thy plastic hand upon the youth. Give each boy to understand as soon as he enters the preparatory seminary that he will have to inflict a publication or two, or ten, upon the world before he is gathered to his fathers. If he cannot sing, make him dance. If there is no music, no poetry, no emotion in his soul, you may make a scientist, or a mathematician, or a metaphysician out of him. But keep him at work writing and re-writing, composing and re-composing. In order, too, that the world may note the rise and mark the growing effulgence of each particular star, and with the further motive of committing the student as early as possible to the career of authorship, we would advise the periodical publishing of all com-

positions of any merit, either in a college journal or in the diocesan newspaper, a page of which would, we are sure, readily be placed at the disposal of the faculty. We would, moreover, encourage the seminarian, when he has sufficiently advanced in years and the art of composition, to work up an occasional contribution for a magazine. It will at least give him employment in vacation time. By this process of training, if persistently adhered to, he will become an expert and fluent writer long before his ordination. No wonder; for long before the age of twenty-four is reached the mind, as well as the body, has attained its full stature, and its various powers are in the very hey-day of youthful vigor. Experience and time will prune what is luxuriant in the soul and tone down the extravagant, but to its stature they will not add one cubit. It might astonish many of our readers if a list were made out of the great amount of valuable literary and scientific work that has been achieved by men no older, nor better versed in book-lore, than are our theological students. The shrewd observation was made to us many years ago by one of the most distinguished of our prelates that, although *priest* is the English of *senior*, our clergy for long after they are invested with the sacerdotal dignity are too apt to be regarded as *juniors*. In all the secular professions the conferring of the professional diploma entitles the graduate to pronounce and write *ex cathedra;* but the priest *apud nos* (to steal a pet phrase from our friends the Canonists), until he reaches the ordinary goal of clerical ambition, the administration of a parish, is little better than gigantic Saul the son of Cis, who was "filius unius anni cum regnare cœpisset";—and to think that this should be the case, of all places in the world, in gushing precocious young America! If the objection be raised by some lover of the old school that this early embarking of our students upon a public literary career will tend to engender within them vanity or self-conceit, the answer should be that it will not *engender* this juvenile ailment, but bring it sooner to the surface, which (to reason from the analogy of the chicken-pox and the measles) is the proper treatment of the complaints incidental to childhood.

We may assume, therefore, that the newly-ordained priest of the future will be a literary veteran from his youth, with a discursive mind, a ready tongue, and a well-sharpened quill. His subsequent progress will depend chiefly upon the address and ability of those who possess authority and influence in cutting him out work, or, as we put it above, in creating a market for his wares. It seems to us that clerical literature will always be more or less a hot-house plant, requiring great attention from the bishop and the older clergy to force its growth. The young priest, if properly trained, is the embodiment of humility, diffidence and bashfulness. It will not

be easy, therefore, to convince him that he has anything to say worth listening to. His collegiate essays he looks upon, very justly, as intended for the subjective purpose of self-education. What he shall write henceforward must be for the instruction of others; and how shall he write unless he be sent? That *mission*, that word of encouragement and command, must come from his superior; and he must be persuaded that his efforts are followed closely with a kindly, sympathizing, fatherly interest. It must be remembered, too, unless we choose to forget that human motives still lurk even in the sacerdotal breast, that the severest mental labors are not likely to exercise an appreciable influence on his advancement in life. It is not in the case of the priest, as in that of non-Catholic ministers of religion, where an elaborate sermon, or a brilliant essay, or a profound treatise, will be apt to ensure a much-desired "call." We naturally enough consider literature as an item low down in the list of qualifications for the pastorate.

Without retracting anything we have said on a preceding page about the apathetic attitude of the public mind towards theological learning, and the impossibility of overcoming that apathy by individual effort, we think it entirely feasible to effect quite a revolution therein by force of organization. A great bishop, with the resources of a great diocese, and surrounded by a disciplined band of well-educated priests, who have been taught to look upon study not as an idle amusement, but as something imperatively needed for practical work, could in a very short time effect a reformation of incalculable magnitude. But we have run beyond our depth, and also beyond the space allotted us. Let us, then, hail the coming millennium, —the golden age, when Chrysostoms and Aquinases shall abound in the land, and printers' ink shall flow like water! But alas! dear readers, alas! few of us will survive to witness the dazzling glories of that epoch.

FORTY YEARS IN THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS.

I.

THE song that pictures Fionula, King Lir's lonely daughter, sighing for the beaming of the day-star, and craving, with tearful eagerness, to hear the sweet bells of heaven, whose music was to announce to her the glad tidings that her spirit was freed from its thraldom, is assuredly one of Moore's finest. By some magic spell this princess was imprisoned in the form of a swan, and doomed to wander over the bright waters of Eire's fair lakes and streams until the star of Christianity should arise over the Isle of Destiny, and the bells for the first Mass ring out in joyous peals through the morning sunshine:

> "When will the day-star, mildly springing,
> Warm our isle with peace and love?
> When will heaven, its sweet bell ringing,
> Call my spirit to the fields above?"

Why do we open with this exquisitely poetic legend the unholy subject we are about to treat? What have the touching wailings of this royal virgin to do with our story? Certainly no glamor of poetry, no witchery of romance, have cast their spells of enchantment over the beginning, or the progress, of the hideous burlesque of religion which lured to a doom worse than death so many beings made in the image and likeness of God.

Though of them may be said, as of their chosen prototypes in the desert: "They always err in their hearts and have not known my ways," yet there was an element of natural goodness and purity among the so-called "Latter-Day Saints." Many of them soon learned, not, indeed, to prefer the gates of their Zion to all the tabernacles of Jacob, but to abhor them as the gates of hell, gates to which the poet alluded when he said: "Who enters here leaves hope behind."

Many years ago, when he who styled himself king, prophet and priest of Mormondom, was in the zenith of his power, two *religieuses*, going west on some business of their order, stopped at Salt Lake City. They spoke with several of the wretched women of the place, and listened kindly to their tales of sorrow. One of these abject beings, who was strangely affected by their presence, spoke to the following effect: "I have been long looking for this. If these holy women settle among us our atmosphere will become

purer. And since they have come hither, even for a short time, our religion will never again be to us what it was before their coming." And she burst into a passion and tempest of tears, which, she said, were of joy rather than sorrow.

Had this unhappy creature been sighing, like the princess in the song, for the arrival of something better and purer than her surroundings? And was the advent of these dark-robed daughters of the Faith a sign unto her? Unfortunately, we were not able to follow up her history. But, by some occult association of ideas, the circumstance recalled to our mind the beauteous white bird in whose graceful form was hidden the virgin daughter of the royal Lir, singing, with the swan's sweetest notes, to the stormy river:

> "Silent, O Moyle! be the roar of thy water,
> Break not, ye breezes! your chain of repose,
> While, murmuring mournfully, Lir's lonely daughter
> Tells to the night-star her tale of woes."

II.

If thou seekest a beautiful vale, *circumspice*, here it is; behold it! Perhaps "there is not in this wide world a valley so sweet." We have all heard: "See Naples and die." And a prelate, whose poetic soul revels in the beautiful, wrote of another charming spot: "After Killarney, heaven." We say: See Salt Lake City, and live and admire. Keep the lovely picture in your mind's eye until your dying day. But for this go not down into it. Look at it from the lawns and orchards of Camp Douglas or Prospect Hill, or from any bench or plateau on the hillside. It lies at the base of the Wasatch, sloping towards the west and south. It is girdled with mountains, some bleak and forbidding in aspect, others of emerald brightness, and superb in their beauty and symmetry. In the early summer sunlight the skies are blue, the air balmy. Clustering trees of every shade of green half hide the wide gabled houses. The bushes are laden with blossoms and fragrance. The limbs of the fruit trees are pink and yellow with flowers. The amber air is filled as with some delicate aroma by the upspringing blossoms. Quaint abodes, like toy-houses, peep from between the trees. There are seas of waving corn, and green patches of alfafa, and lazy, lowing kine, and wide stretches of pastoral country dotted with sheep, in the broad valley that slopes towards the distant Salt Lake—the dead sea of this new Palestine. The peaks and battlements of the far away hills white with eternal snow, the turtle-like back of the spacious tabernacle, the rows of Lombardy poplars which form huge, whispering walls between the abodes of the "saints," and the jungles of sunflower and golden rod that brighten the green

sward, give such changeful effects of radiant coloring as are rarely seen outside of the tropics. The panorama of lake, mountain, valley, residences, gardens, public buildings, is kaleidoscopic, ever-changing, and full of charming contrasts. Long lines of fruit trees, trim white houses, tideless, dreamy, slumbering waters that flash every hue of the rainbow,—the Oquirrh mountains, now like feudal castles, again with splintered peaks gilded by the burning sun—sometimes all this is seen as it were swimming in the air. The amber haze mellows every outline. The hills are wedded by wondrous bridges. The sluggish Jordan leaps to the inland sea, whose calm bosom shimmers in the sunshine. It is that beautiful optical illusion—the mirage. The blue heron, the sacred pelican, the white sea-gull, the graceful swan, the restless prairie-chicken,—on a closer view you may see some of them poised in the air, or breasting the waters, or resting on the swamp, or balancing their lithe forms on some sparkling pyramid of salt, apparently enjoying the picturesqueness of the scene, and, like ourselves, fascinated by its beauty.

Laid down between the feet of the mountains, amid groves of cottonwood, maple and oak, and rows of sentry-like poplars, with the great Salt Lake gleaming like sunshine on the distant horizon, is the "Temple City," the "Mecca of the West," the New Jerusalem, which has charmed every eye that ever rested on its varied beauties—at a distance.

III.

It is said that Father de Smet one day met Brigham Young and his scouts wandering about the haunts of his Indians, and believing them to be immigrants in search of homes, he directed them to a cañon many miles in length, stating that at its end they would find a valley which the hand of man could transform into a land flowing with milk and honey. This territory which the Mormons entered July 24, 1847, was bleak and forbidding in aspect; the serrated peaks of the Wasatch Mountains bold and rugged; the briny inland sea sullen and listless, or bright and stirring, according to wind and weather; the dreary waste adorned with tufts of sandgrass and bristling with gray-green sage; the stillness, unbroken save by the screaming of wild birds, the whistling of the cañon winds, or the barking of the prowling coyotes;—"this was their welcome home."

So sure was Captain James Bridger of the perennial barrenness of the soil, that he offered a thousand dollars for every bushel of corn wrung from its fastnesses. But Mr. Young was better informed. No doubt Father de Smet, who at that time was ignorant of the peculiar views with which he imbued his satellites, knew what the Indians knew, that where sage-brush abounded corn would grow, and enlightened him as to that fact. When he reached

the valley, he told his followers that the Lord had commanded a halt. But he knew well this was the last spot at which they could stop; the bleak, inhospitable, alkali desert was beyond it.

Many disciples came hither in the dusty wagons, drawn by slow and patient oxen, that passed in trains over the desert and through the rocky defiles, and, later, some of the wealthier by the pony express or the lumbering stage-coach. Some escaped from the holy city, despite the argus-eyed Brigham and his myriads of spies. One hundred and fifty of these gave Father de Smet a dreadful account of the internal and external condition of Zion. But the prophet had defenders. On March 20, 1850, Colonel Kane, one of the many whom his oily tongue had deluded, lecturing at Philadelphia before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, "On the Mormons," declared that he had found Brigham Young "sharing sorrow with the sorrowful and poverty with the poor," and extolled him as a man of rare natural endowments, which he undeniably was. In June appeared a Mormon paper, *The Deseret News*;[1] and on September 20th, of the same year, an auspicious year for the prophet, President Millard Filmore appointed him Governor of Utah, partly through the recommendations of Colonel Kane. This at once gave him a position and an influence of which he made the most.

Utah was part of the territory acquired from Mexico in 1848, and originally contained 225,000 square miles. The name is of Indian derivation, and is said to signify "home on the mountain." Salt Lake City[2] was incorporated June 11, 1851, its population being nearly 5000. Missionaries were sent in every direction to increase the flock. "Stakes in Zion," as Mormon settlements are called, were established in several places. They were then much more arbitrary in their conditions than now. The peculiar feature of the sect, which had been more than suspected, but always emphatically denied, had not yet been made public. The revelation establishing the "patriarchal order of marriage" is said to have been made to Joseph Smith, July 12, 1843. Smith's widow and four sons denounced it as a forgery, and headed a schism. In 1845, a formal denial was given by the "Church" in these strong words: "Inasmuch as the Church of Christ has been reproached with the crimes of polygamy, ... we declare that we believe that one man should have but one wife." Yet in 1852, "the revelation of the celestial law of marriage" was made public. The next year,

[1] This paper is the official organ of Mormonism. Deseret is understood by the Mormons to mean "home of the honey bee." Governor Young wanted Utah admitted into the Union as the "State of Deseret."

[2] In 1880, its population was over 20,000; at present it is nearly 30,000, of whom over one-third are Gentiles.

the Spanish wall, nine miles long, was built of mud and adobes around the little city. Every property was surrounded by a high wall of mud and cobble-stones. Brigham's quarters, in particular, were walled in like Moorish fortifications. Some of these have crumbled away, and others have given place to less unsightly fences. They were intended to keep out Canaanitish Indians and ungodly Babylonians; but they were needed to keep in the discontented victims of the abhorrent system now forced upon the better element. For, be it recorded to the honor of human nature, polygamy met with strenuous opposition from men and women—opposition unavailing before the powerful will and iron hand of the man who riveted it upon his law and gospel. Neither did it ever become universal—it was practised only by a small fraction of the population. Many defections were due to the engrafting of it on the Mormon creed, and those who remained, agreeing to differ with Governor Young, were obliged to keep their opinions to themselves or get beyond the radius of his circle. But, apart from what was euphoniously styled "celestial marriage," the Mormons would scarcely be allowed to rest in peace in any country. They were everywhere accused of incendiarism, fraudulent dealings, and other crimes, and were often in open conflict with the State authorities. Politically, their vote would always be a unit, and, cast on either side, would secure the victory. Any one party's vote, *plus* the Mormon vote, could put in that party's candidate. As a factor in local politics, the Mormon vote could always be relied on to control elections. Even to-day (October, 1889) the Governor of Arizona, in his official report, attacks the Mormons, and says: "They are a curse to the country." He charges them with sending colonies to other territories in order to hold the balance of power, and claims that they vote just as the interests of their church dictates. Hence the feeling against them in Illinois, which culminated in open warfare. The charter of their city, Nauvoo, a place of some 15,000 inhabitants, was repealed in 1845. Joseph Smith and his brother Hiram were killed fighting a mob, and the whole Mormon population expelled from the State.

They crossed the Mississippi to Iowa. Later they crossed that State to the Missouri. Camps of Israel, as their resting places were called, were laid on the site of the city now known as Council Bluffs. Near Omaha were the famous Winter Quarters, to which the prophet came more than once in the early days of the Utah invasion. Florence now occupies the site of the deserted quarters. From this starting point, band after band of Mormons moved in wagon-trains towards the promised land. Year after year these Ishmaelites, their hand against every man and every man's hand against them, wintered in this obscure corner of Nebraska, and in

early spring set out on their perilous journey over the American desert. These expeditions sometimes had a versifier. Here is a stanza of a song composed by a Mormon woman, Eliza Snow:

"The time of winter now is o'er,
There's verdure on the plain,
We leave our sheltering roofs once more,
And to our tents again."

IV.

While the bulk of the new sect migrated to Utah, many remained in their earlier haunts, especially about Council Bluffs, then called Kanesville, from Colonel Kane, who organized the Mormon battalion for Governer Young. These were mostly followers of Joseph Smith, son of the originator of the sect, who claimed to be the rightful head of the church, and deemed Brigham a usurper. A dividing line was drawn very early between the Josephites and the Utah Mormons, but many of these latter only tolerated, from motives of policy, the religion and politics of the spurious prophet.

It was reserved for the nineteenth century to produce a sect[1] which revived some of the worst horrors of the lowest type of paganism. The leaders of this loathsome caricature of a theocracy, while professing to be divinely inspired, led lives diametrically opposed to those of the men and women usually selected by heaven as the medium of celestial communications to their fellow-mortals. They did not belong to the Negro, Indian, or Mongolian, or any of the races commonly ranked below the Caucasian.

The controlling authority of the Mormon church has always been exercised by Americans of Saxon lineage. It is even said that several of the first "Twelve Apostles" came from families that had participated in the struggle for national independence. It is not, therefore, quite correct to speak of Mormonism as an alien organization. It was always wholly non-Catholic. Even in seeking recruits, the Mormons rather avoided Catholic countries. Spaniards, Italians, French, Irish, Mexicans, are sought in vain among the Latter Day Saints. Its disciples were drawn mainly from the lowest grades of non-Catholic nations. But into this seething vortex men and women of ordinary education, and a few of more than average ability, from the Old World and the New, have been drawn. Time and again have deluded creatures turned

[1] The Book of Mormon, called by one of the "apostles" the Golden Bible, is said to have been taken from a sort of romance by Rev. Mr. Spaulding, which contains a supposititious history of the wanderings of the Lost Tribes, and their final appearance in America. Save where it quotes from the Sacred Scriptures, it is a tissue of absurdities and contradictions.

their backs on home, friends, and country, to seek salvation in this awful fanaticism. The Catholic faith seems to have been the only *ægis* capable of protecting souls from this stupendous parody on things decent, fitting, and spiritual.

Religiously a fraud, chronologically it was an anachronism, and one wonders how the fanciful tales of its origin and progress ever obtained credence. In 1820 Joseph Smith, an illiterate lad of fifteen, sees a glorious vision. In 1823, the angel Moroni,[1] in a white robe, and with a countenance like lightning, makes known to him the existence of metal plates covered with an ancient record. After his marriage to Emma Hale, in 1827, an angel delivered to him the plates of the book of Mormon, which had been buried 1400 years. On these were written the law, in several ancient languages. By the application of the seer stone or peep stone, and a sort of spectacles called the Urim and Thummin, Smith read them off in English, sitting meanwhile behind a blanket, that the sacred records might be screened from profane eyes. All this is reported to have happened in Ontario County, New York. Several who swore to its truth afterwards declared the falsity of their testimony. On the walls of the Assembly House these romantic details are illustrated by a series of colored daubs. The wingless angel shows his treasure to Joseph, under a tree which bears a provoking resemblance to the Charter Oak of the school histories; Aaron anoints him with the order of Melchisedeck; Peter, James, and John elevate him to higher privileges; John the Baptist confers other favors. A Scotchman who has been in Salt Lake City some thirty or forty years, and bewails the days of its greatness when Brigham was sole ruler, explains these mystifying pictures, and his hearers are as wise when he concludes as they were before he started. How such absurd ravings could attract, or, having attracted, satisfy, disciples is simply inexplicable.

Yet for many whose feet rested not on the Rock of Peter, the fables of the ubiquitous Mormon propagandists possessed an alluring charm. The Happy Valley, the City of the Blest, the true and only Zion "where indeed the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest," but, above all, the great prophet who was to the excited imaginations of the earlier pilgrims a sort of sanctified grand lama or great mogul, did not the over-worked, ill-paid toiler of "effete" Europe long to enter this home of perennial sun-

[1] Moroni is described as son of the prophet Mormon, from whom the sect takes its name, but the Mormons say their correct name is "Latter Day Saints." The Scotch gentleman who acts as beadle in the tabernacle informed the writer that Mormon angels have no wings.

shine[1] whose skies were always blue, and whose fields wore eternal verdure? Was he not eager to breathe the same air with the holy patriarch, that man of heavenly (?) visions, and to worship in the place where his feet had trod?

Happily, many were disillusioned. Some who went out in families and had wealth and position at their back, returned home disgusted and humiliated. That many were too poor to retrace their steps, it would be foolish and inconsequent to deny. For them there was no release. Poverty and superstition helped to force them into a vise, and while some were ever in rebellion against their pitiless fate, others seemed to grow accustomed to it. Neglected wives and mothers may have accepted their bitter lot with unsanctified resignation. Some were deluded into the belief that the forlorn lives to which they were condemned were crosses from heaven to win them crowns of glory everlasting. Homes were dreary, though full of children; wives were widowed, but not by death. With pathetic deceit some declare they are happy under such circumstances, but the tear-dimmed eye and the anguished countenance give the lie to such declarations. There is a terrible pathos in the lives of women, otherwise respectable and intelligent, who find themselves in the interior of households directed by the shining lights of Mormonism.

Mrs. C. ——, who lives near Temple Block, a staunch Mormon, but not a polygamist, affirms in the strongest terms that there is no happiness in any polygamous family of her acquaintance. The wife of a bishop, who came to her for consolation, said: "For sake of peace and good will, I have tried to like the wretch who usurped my place, but found it impossible. There are no feelings in my home but feelings of hate and envy." "Those who profess to be happy in their plural relations," added Mrs. C. ——, "are cunning women who know how to get cloaks and dresses by wholesale from their husbands, while the more honest cannot get them by retail."

When the women believe in the absurd teachings of Mormonism, —how the air is filled with spirits waiting to be born, how such beings can select the time and place of their birth into earthly probation, how they are eager to be born in Zion, how the millennial dispensation is at hand, after which no more spirits can be reclaimed, —that the patriarchal order into which they were given in marriage is to be eternal in heaven, with the rewards and emoluments thereof,—they are upheld under the tortures of their lives by hope. But that good and bright women could ever have been

[1] In point of fact, Salt Lake City (4354 feet above sea level) is intensely cold in winter and intensely hot in summer. It is only now beginning to be drained. For many months of the year it is perhaps the dustiest spot on earth.

satisfied with such speculations, or with the men that taught them, is simply inconceivable.

Lofty enthusiasm was, indeed, simulated by fanatics or hypocrites; but being only simulated, its fruits were as Dead Sea apples. Where materialism of the lowest type prevailed, no ideal world of beauty could exist. "There is something dry in the reality of things," said Madame de Staël, a little peevishly, "and we try in vain to get rid of it in our daily affairs." What would she have said had she been able to look behind the Eagle Gate? There realism went beyond dryness. Disenchantment, discontent, misanthropy, and sometimes the implacable hatred of the infernal furies, were the monstrous fruits of this "Variation of Protestantism." Though they understood not the meaning of the term, the celestially espoused women of Utah were to a great extent the most pessimistic creatures on the face of the earth. Considering the plausibility of the crafty autocrat of Zion, the rough and ready eloquence of Mormon missioners, and the ignorance and isolation of many Catholics, it is a grand thing that, while wealth, position, and in some cases intellectual ability, have been lured into the acceptance of a system diametrically opposed to every fine instinct of womanhood, yet no Catholic maid or matron was ever beguiled into believing in this "patriarchal order." Many have chafed under their hard lot, for it is the women chiefly who must bear the shame, scorn, and anguish consequent on plural marriage. Some have left husbands who broke God's law by multiplying wives, and reared their children by the sweat of their brow. One poor English woman whose eyes were dim, not from age, but from weeping, said that when her husband brought home a girl whom he called a plural wife, she told him to choose between them. He selected her rival. She at once left his premises, taking her six little children, whom she supported henceforth by working for Gentile families. He took another consort, and still another. Years passed slowly for the struggling woman thus sadly widowed. The "plural wives" died. Then did the worthless wretch return to his first choice. She had prospered, she could support him now as well as his children. But the outraged creature drove him from her presence, nor could she speak of him without loathing. "No religion could be from God," said she, "which causes the inexpressible torture I have seen in the weary years of my life in the wilderness."

The Mormon men[1] seemed dull, vulgar, and clownish; no

[1] N. P. Willis's description of "British Workmen" fits the lower type of Mormon men: "Utter want of hope in the countenances of the working classes—the look of dogged suspicion and animal endurance of their condition of life. They act like

doubt there are many exceptions, "When I look at them," said a prominent Gentile, "I think their horrible system should be uprooted by fire and sword." Not so the writer. It should never be glorified by persecution. Left to itself, it will tumble to pieces. When Mormons break the laws by bigamy or other crimes, they suffer not as martyrs, but as evil-doers. Yet it is their policy to pose as victims.

The Mormon women look shapeless and slovenly; their faces soulless, their eyes fishy, dead. Seen in thousands issuing out of the tabernacle on a fine Sunday afternoon, with their slatternly figures and slouching gait, they do, indeed, appear "the off-scouring of all." Nothing blithe or gay about them as they waddle along; no glow upon the cheek, no sparkle in the eye, no trim, graceful robes, no womanly dignity. Those whom we saw were downright ugly, and had a wizened appearance. In some the expression was repulsive and defiant, in others repulsive and sad. Many of the children are afflicted with physical deformity, and not a few are said to be idiotic. The deaf and dumb have increased of late years. The groups have a decidedly foreign appearance. Light hair and the Scandinavian cast of features predominate.

The peculiar institution was made subservient to the temporal weal of the apostles and elders. By organizing and directing trade to his own advantage, Brigham Young accumulated enormous wealth. In the poorer classes, too, avarice often had something to do with the multiplication of helpmates. These wretched creatures supported the children, or, in a country where labor was high, supplied servants without wages to their masters. They minded the chickens and cows, sold or bartered butter, eggs, honey, and farm produce in general. As much exterior decency as was compatible with the condition of affairs was generally observed, for the Destroying Angel was abroad, and woe to the hapless wight that fell under his vengeful wing. But under a semi-respectable appearance, there existed the vices of the cities of the plain.

Neither sensuality, nor so-called spirituality, ever turned the heads of the rulers[1] aside for one moment from what seems to have been their main purpose—the achieving of opulence. The

horses and cows. . . . Their gait is that of tired donkeys. . . . Their mouths and eyes are wholly sensual. . . . Their dress without a thought of more than warmth and covering. . . . Their voices are a half-note above a grunt."

[1] There is no man of remarkable ability among the Mormons. The only one who approaches such a plane is a man who, "to further his own ends, has been ever ready to use duplicity, perjury, and dishonesty with his fellow Mormons and with the United States; a man of supreme selfishness, and a crafty worldling."

financial was inextricably interwoven with the law and the prophets, as expounded by the lights of Mormondom. Being rapt in extacy, July 8, 1838, Joseph Smith spoke thus:

"O, Lord, show unto me how much thou requirest of the properties of thy people for a tithing."

Here is the answer:

"Verily, thus saith the Lord, I require all their surplus property to be put into the hands of the Bishop of Zion, for the building of my house and for the laying of the foundation of Zion, and for the priesthood, and for the debts of presidency of my church.

"And this shall be the beginning of the tithing of my people.

"And after that, those who have thus been tithed shall pay one-tenth of all their interest annually, and this shall be a standing law unto them forever, for my holy priesthood, saith the Lord.

"Verily I say unto you, it shall come to pass that all those who gather unto the land of Zion shall be tithed of their surplus properties, and shall observe this law, or they shall not be found worthy to abide among you."

At first there was little or no money in Utah. Everything was done by barter. When a man took his families to a place of amusement he paid his fee in "collateral," consisting, perhaps, of a barrel or two of potatoes, or a wheel-barrow full of turnips, or some dozens of adobes. But at no time were the new lights able to say with one of the genuine apostles, "Silver and gold I have none." From the promulgation of their tithe system they grew prodigiously rich. The rank and file worked; the profits swelled the exchequers of the heads of this nefarious system.

For the first twenty years or more after their arrival the Mormons were, it may be said, the sole occupants of Utah. Being a thousand miles from the frontier, they deemed themselves secure from further molestation. In 1854 the President appointed Governor Steptoe in Mr. Young's place. But Young refused to stir from the gubernatorial seat, and set the Chief-Executive and the world at large at defiance. "I am, and will be, governor," said he, "and no power can hinder it until the Lord says, 'Brigham, you need not be governor any longer.'" The new appointee considered it unsafe to enter the city, and Brigham remained governor *de facto*. The saints were now in open rebellion against the United States, and the Mormon War followed. In 1857 the army of Utah, consisting of 2500 troops, was sent to reduce them to submission. Brigham cut off the supply trains. The territorial militia went out to reconnoitre. The "enemy" was snow-bound one hundred miles east of the capital. The saints determined to evacuate the country, and leave it as they found it, a wilderness. But, through arbitration, a peaceful solution of the

difficulty was found. The new Governor, Alfred Cumming, appointed by President Buchanan, was allowed to take his seat, and the belligerent Mormons were pardoned.

The army remained in Utah until 1861. In 1862 Colonel O'Connor and his command settled at Camp Douglas, within easy range of the city. The Mormon leaders have always keenly resented the military occupation of their country as an element of antagonism, and a menace to peaceful, law-abiding citizens. But the soldiers have been a blessing to the place.

VI.

By far the most remarkable product of Mormonism was Brigham Young, of Vermont, who began life as a glazier. He was supreme in church and state. A Catholic lady, his neighbor for many years, said to the writer: "No Russian autocrat ever held his subjects, body and soul, in so firm a grasp as Brigham Young." They were literally his, to have and to hold. His temper was generally under perfect control; his conversation easily drifted from monologue to grotesque rhapsody; his unctuous words were seasoned with scriptural allusions, and emitted in a clear, finely modulated voice, with which one could not readily connect any disposition to cruelty. His gentle condescension and quiet self-possession sometimes threw strangers off their guard, and made them wonder whether this bland, courteous gentleman was in reality the terrible Brigham. He would describe his sufferings with a pathetic air, and pose as a victim with so much grace that tears sometimes bedewed the eyes of an impressionable listener. He rather liked the *rôle* of a persecuted saint, a taste still common among his disciples. He could be ebullient, sarcastic, and naively exultant by turns, and was not in the least repelled by irresponsiveness.

Wearing a sort of spurious tiara as king, priest and prophet, Brigham Young played the triple part with consummate ability. He did hard things in a kindly fashion, kept the rabble on his side, and was worshipped by his motley *clientèle*. He knew every one in his territory, and, by a judicious distribution of his favors, gained the good-will of the multitude. Of his wonderful personal magnetism, there can be no doubt. And did we not know that there are persons whose affectations in the course of years have become natural, and whose illusions have finally become to them realities, we should say that he was at once a profound hypocrite and a crafty fanatic.

Apparently large-hearted and generous, the prophet was really most grasping and avaricious. He understood perfectly the art of throwing a herring to catch a whale. The tithes must be paid

into the Tithing House in money or kind, but if he ground his people as in a mill, he always "spoke them fair." He was ready to administer the estates of wealthy widows, but to have surer control he appointed himself spiritual spouse to such ladies." "Deal you in words," was an advice he followed to the letter. If any complained of their hard lot in the pleasant valley by Jordan's stream, he spoke, with hands and eyes uplifted, of the perfect blessedness reserved for the Latter-Day Saints in the heavenly Jerusalem during all eternity. A Catholic who knew him well spoke of him in terms more strong than elegant. Another said to the writer: "Mr. Young was always a civil-spoken gentleman. He never put his hands behind his back when I asked him for a subscription." He gave this lady twenty-five dollars for the Land League in Ireland, and he sent a like sum for a hospital to be erected on his old hunting grounds in Omaha. But those who knew him best declare that he was close-fisted, and not at all inclined to part with his money. It was necessary to his scheme to give land to every man[1] capable of working it. The wealth of the place was to be chiefly agricultural, and every farmer increased the wealth of the church. As all hands had to pay their passage in labor, the immigrants were, for the time being, little better than slaves. Like Queen Elizabeth, Brigham was willing to take with both hands, but would scarcely give with his little finger.

But the great man walked about among the laborers, shook hands with them occasionally, called them by their names, inquired how their families did, seemed to believe their stories and to trust in them. They were as ciphers, every one of whom pushed him up a place higher; obscure, ignoble builders of his prosperity. They swelled his retinue, and he made them feel he was interested in their welfare. When crickets or grasshoppers destroyed their crops, there was always plenty in his larder, and he more than once invited them to partake of it. "Ah," said a poor woman to us, "I was never hungry when provisions were scarce. The president with his own hand gave me plenty of breadstuff." This woman did what many another did who was better than her surroundings. She declined to be superseded by the women her husband called wives, left his roof-tree, took service in the family of the prophet, and lives to testify how well he provided his household with the flesh-pots of Egypt. "No one was ever hungry in his house," said another, who had suffered the pangs of hunger in early times of scarcity. Both these women execrated the vile institutions which left so many homes, practically, without husbands

[1] Until 1871 the Mormons had only squatters' titles to their property. At that date only three or four city lots were owned by non-Mormons.

or fathers. As the prophet usually gave separate establishments to the women on whom he bestowed his hand, things did not look as gloomy in his premises as in the homes of the poor, but in all cases the scenes between the rival women may be more easily imagined than described.

"No one but a Mormon woman," said a poor, faded creature, "can know the torture, the horror, of this diabolical custom."

"You think it wrong, then? You are not deluded into believing it right?"

"Oh, no. I never could believe such abominations."

"Well, now, the head of your religion practised these abominations. How can you follow his teachings in other points?"

"Oh, that is entirely different. *He* was right whatever he did."

No one can doubt the sincerity of these people when they laud this man to the skies. He thoroughly imbued them with a belief that he was the centre of a theocracy on the model of the Bible, and the source of every spiritual and temporal blessing they enjoyed. When they worked for him they had enough to eat, a great point with these stout bread-winners. When he made tours, or, what the old English would call "progresses," through the country, young men, unasked, went out before his carriage to remove stones or other obstructions from the rocky roads lest his sacred person should be jolted. On his arrival at Mormon hamlets, little girls in white, with sashes of celestial blue, used to march and gambol before him. Every material misery found a counterpoise in him. He sought to eliminate all the supernatural of which he was not the medium. He listened gently to the woes of the plural consorts who came to him for a remedy which he could not give. Similar woes disturbed his own castles. But after a few soft words from him, they would submit to their hard lot with patient endurance from which no perfume of genuine piety exhaled.

It is significant that while so much is made of Joe Smith, one hears but little of Brigham Young in the city he founded. No picture or memento of him hangs in the Tabernacle or Assembly House. It is the present policy of the Mormons to keep polygamy as much out of sight as possible. And Mr. Young, like Henry VIII., is especially famous for his matrimonial transactions. He left his families two million dollars. A grand-child of his told a Catholic lady that when he was dying, illumined perhaps with "the light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," he said: "I never had a wife but one, and that was my first."

VII.

The beehive is the adopted emblem of Mormonism, and much parade has always been made of Mormon industry. But leaving

out the homes of wealthy bishops and other high officials, Mormon homesteads are often as slovenly looking as their mistresses who sometimes lounge on the door-steps or hang over the gates and fences, in cotton gowns and sunbonnets. They greatly disappointed us. As a rule, homes were not neat, tidy, or well kept. Considering their years in the desert and their opportunities, we failed to perceive the Mormons had done anything extraordinary. Gardens and farms showed great lack of cleanliness; weeds and tangled grass were rank and abundant, bushes untrimmed, withered branches hanging from fruit trees, broken limbs from shade trees. The usual complement of tin cans, old hats, shoes, and rubbish in general that one sees in remote Western towns was not absent here. Few of the poorer dwellings, whether of adobe, log, or frame, or all combined, will bear a close inspection. Of flowers, we saw scarcely any. The little brooklets or runnels were dry, the dust stifling. Water was very scarce. Those who used the hose to water their lawns could use it only for a stated period. We were surprised at the general untidiness, especially on the outskirts; a people who did little else might have their places bright and clean. "The sights," however, are always in good order. The Mormons are on dress parade before strangers, and seem feverishly anxious to make a good impression. Their worst features are held in abeyance. To see them at a discount one should visit, unannounced, the suburban quarters and back settlements. We have heard of the unspeakable Turk; in rustic haunts where the people are not civilized by Gentile contact may be seen the unspeakable Mormon. Denmark, Wales, England, Switzerland, Sweden, Scotland, Germany, and the States, have contributed to establish these outlying camps of Israel, formed of dug-outs, log-cabins, and huts, with a sprinkling of houses of more decent type. The barbaric hordes that followed in the wake of the prophet have not lost all their barbarism.

Some of Brigham Young's children married Gentiles—a Jew is a Gentile in Mormondom. This he affected to consider an indelible disgrace. And as he had in earlier days consigned his rival, Rigdom, to the devil, "to be buffeted for a thousand years," so he solemnly delivered his own children to Satan forever, and cursed them with all his might. This was severe from a potentate who laid claim to constant angelic or divine guidance, and whose talent and shrewdness were seldom at fault.

The Mormonism of thirty or forty years ago is now but a tradition. "Ah," said an official of the Tabernacle to the writer, "you should have seen this town in the early days, before the railroads brought in the trash of the continent," *i.e.*, the Gentiles. The people were driven like sheep to the market-place by a few

fox-like demagogues who assumed a priestly[1] power terrifying to the abject. They had been coaxed into the wilderness by the mellifluous words of the president and his silver-tongued auxiliaries, and were secure in their iron grasp. They came to the Tadmor of the desert, or rather to the rich corn-fields and blooming orchards which the Jordan laves. They found a shabby little town, shaded by saplings—an ugly, dismal place, whose streets were enlivened by pigs and goats, and adorned at irregular intervals by heaps of offal and decaying vegetables. The dwellings were silent as the Sahara, save for the bawling of children. The low cottages, five or six in the same yard, had additions on the sides and rear for the different families. Here and there, on the dusty street, one might see a deserted wife airing her progeny. The cottage occupied by Brigham Young in his humble early days is now the property of the convent, of which it forms a part. It contains four large apartments (each can be shut off from the rest) and three entrances. The doors and windows are screened with wire gauze to keep out insects, which are very annoying in Utah during the hot weather. In one room is a trap-door, through which Brigham more than once escaped when the United States authorities were wishing to see him. Many of the early houses, with their *succursales*, and a few of the original log-cabins, remain. Even to-day there are large expanses of swamp and sage brush between the Temple City and Ogden. Although still profoundly disappointing to one who has often heard of it as "combining the cleanliness and activity of Young America with the picturesqueness and dignity of the Orient," it has greatly improved since its earlier decades. But this progress is due chiefly to the presence of the progressive Gentile.

The exodus of the pilgrims from Nebraska, and their establishment on the beautiful plain at the foot of the Wasatch range, would, it was supposed, place them beyond the reach of Gentile interference forever. There were no soldiers, no railroads, no telegraph. Heretofore their peculiar ways had brought them into conflict with their neighbors. The new Jerusalem would have no neighbors. Unfriendly Gentiles would disturb them no more. Ere the saints would have spent "Forty Years in the Wilderness" they would have established an empire more compact than that of Charlemagne and grander than the dream of Napoleon. But the railroads, the mines and the soldiers brought a "change over the spirit" of such dreams.

The Mormon leaders, notably Young, opposed the development of the mineral resources of the country. The locality of valuable

[1] The officers of the Melchisedek priesthood are high priests and elders. The officers of the Aaronic or lesser priesthood are priests, teachers, and deacons. These preside. The office of the Seventy is to travel for recruits.

mineral ledges was kept secret by his order, though he thoroughly understood their value, lest the Gentiles should profit by them. The Mormons trade only with each other, give work to each other, and boycott the Gentiles in every possible way. Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, irreverently called "the Co-op," which has several branches, handles business to the amount of nearly 6,000,000 dollars a year. Through this institution the church considered herself entitled to crush out all competition.

When enterprising people like the four Walker brothers sought to do a little business on their own account, and encouraged outside capital to come to their aid in developing the silver[1] ledges of the Wasatch, they immediately fell under the ban of Brigham's displeasure. Their tithe-offerings did not suit him. He wanted 30,000 dollars more than the amount they presented. Tithe collecting is an art in which these apostles and bishops have always been distinguished experts. To-day, Presiding Bishop Prescott, a Virginian, admits that the revenue from this source amounts to 700,000 dollars a year. He declines to make any statement as to its use. "The people," said he, "are asked to believe in the honesty and business sense of their bishops, without an annual array of figures which might or might not lie."

VIII.

Only the lethargy or stupidity of the masses could make fraud and pillage on this gigantic scale possible. The calumnies uttered against the Jesuits by their enemies would be true if applied to the "Aaronic" priesthood. "The end," the enriching of the rulers, justifies any "means" whatever. One-tenth of everything goes into the treasury of the church. Mormondom is divided into stakes. At the head of every stake is a stake bishop. Every stake is divided into wards, presided over by ward bishops. Ward bishops get orders from stake bishops, and these make returns to the presiding bishop and his cabinet of two. Blind, unquestioning obedience is rigidly enforced. Apostle John W. Taylor, the czar of all the Mormons, has just warned his flock of the pernicious tendencies of the day, and the danger that lurks in criticism of those over them. "The men at the head of the church," says he, "have the spirit of revelation—they are prophets and seers, and we cannot retain the spirit of God and be constantly finding fault with them."

The prophet was once abroad, but the iconoclast is abroad to-day. Revolts and rumors of revolts are common in the holy city.

[1] From any of the heights around Salt Lake City one may see spiral wreaths and columns of black smoke arising from the silver-ore smelters.

There were, indeed, upheavals and commotions in the days of the redoubtable Brigham. The Godbeites and others spoke, and with no uncertain tone. They declared that President Young was not lord of their temporalities, and that the elders should confine their guidance to things spiritual. When the Walker brothers were asked for an enormous sum as their "tithing," the demand met with a stern refusal. But the dictator, who would brook no opposition, excommunicated the rebels, and worked with all his might to ruin their business.

The church is weaker now than in early days, and it is kept up chiefly through its missionary[1] channels. The Catholic Church, without showing the slightest aggressiveness; the railroads, which daily pour in throngs of witnesses; and the freedom which the pointed guns of Camp Douglas insure, have perceptibly weakened what seemed to be a vital force in this hideous fanaticism, and have begun its overthrow. Some Mormon women have married Catholics and become exemplary members of the true Church. In fact, all the Mormons who wed liberals of any denomination embrace the religion of their spouses, which shows that Mormonism carries no conviction to the minds and hearts of its votaries. Many of the daughters of Zion tell their Gentile friends that, though Mormons, they do not believe in the teachings of Mormonism.

Would that all who fall away, or rise up, from that superstition embraced the Catholic faith. Here is what Rev. Mr. Lamb, a Baptist minister, who has lived many years in Utah, says:

"At the annual conference held in Provo, April 4, 1886, one of the leading speakers confessed, with a sad heart, that one-third of all the boys and young men in Utah, between fifteen and thirty years of age, are infidels. This statement was fully confirmed by subsequent speakers. And my own observation is, that this infidelity among the young people is even more widespread than the above admission would indicate, and is being shared by a rapidly-increasing number of the older members."

So severe is the tithing tax on the rich that, among those who accumulate wealth, some quietly drop aside out of the church without joining any other. These, and the large class that side with every party, are called "Jack Mormons." Genuine apostates are quite numerous, and their testimony as to the rulers is by no means complimentary. These men must have money. Their subjects, whose allegiance is due to ignorance and superstition, live simply.

[1] "A Perpetual Emigration Fund" is collected to bring out new recruits. At first, Europeans were brought to Winter-Quarters, *en route* for Utah, by way of New Orleans, whence they ascended the river to Omaha. But, since the opening of the railroads, they go from the Atlantic seaboard by trains. Probably about half of the Mormons are foreigners, though this may be an underestimate.

They must not buy from Gentiles or give them work. The Gentile must be starved out. A prominent "saint" was wont to affirm that God was a business God, and that if the saints had kept their business to themselves they would not be punished by the presence of the Gentiles; their money would remain among themselves. A man with many wives and scores of children needs a good allowance.

Brigham Young improved to the utmost his opportunities of acquiring wealth. The last—said to be the nineteenth—reversion of his hand he bestowed on one Amelia Folsom. He built her a showy mansion with a Mansard roof, a tower and cupola, set in the midst of a beautiful lawn. It is now the executive mansion of the Mormon hierarchy, though still called the Amelia Palace. To each of the abject women whom this American Turk selected for dishonor he gave a local habitation, if not a name. The first wife was Mrs. Young; the others were simply called Miss, with the given, we cannot say Christian, name, the last being "Miss Amelia," according to a custom common in Utah. The children of a first marriage consider themselves on a higher social plane than the offspring of subsequent so-called marriages contracted amid the orgies of the Endowment House.

Immense pains have always been taken to imbue the young with the doctrines of Mormonism. They were forbidden to hold intercourse with Gentiles, and so far this isolation has, to a great extent, kept them in darkness. But as the Gentile population increases, the young saints, much to the discomfiture of the patriarchs and high priests, become ashamed of Mormonism. At the last county election held in Salt Lake City, August, 1889, several Gentiles were elected, because many disaffected Mormons voted the liberal ticket. An intelligent Catholic gentleman who has long resided in Utah writes: "If the Government were to break up the school trustee system, for of course when there are Mormon trustees[1] there will be Mormon teachers and Mormon pupils, and appoint its own superintendent and teachers, and adopt its own text-books, which, in this case, might contain a full account of the true nature of Mormonism, the enlightenment of the children would be secured."

So far the number of Mormons who embrace the Catholic faith is small. The Mormon ranks are recruited from non-Catholic countries. The prejudices of early years are strengthened by the Church's inflexible teachings of self-crucifixion as compared with the loose morality of Mormonism. The condition of the children

[1] Several Gentile trustees have been elected, but the Mormons are scheming in every possible way to get full supervision of the schools.

is deplorable. They are often taught by their jealous aunts—plural wives are so-called—to hate one another, and encouraged to tantalize their deserted mothers. Besides, many fathers are ordered off on missionary work. Some are absent three or four years, others get "revelations," establish new families, and never return. In either case the children are left to their own sweet wills, and, says a Gentile resident, "it is not surprising that in the outskirts of the town the nights are often rendered hideous by the whoops of the young Mormon hoodlums," called also "yaps."

Like Brigham Young, the Mormons love to pose as victims. With them prosecution is persecution. They insist it is their religion that is persecuted when they are punished for breaking the law, and, "my father is in the pen," is a common boast among the children of polygamists. There is profound policy in viewing the question as they choose to view it. As long as it bears a religious aspect, so long will law-breakers arrested for crime proclaim themselves martyrs. Queen Elizabeth, with extraordinary cunning, tried to deprive martyrdom of its heroism by enacting that the Catholic religion was treason, and punishing its adherents as traitors.

IX.

Brigham's own special demesne near the Temple Block, and stretching far to the east, was strongly fortified. A gateway in the Spanish wall called the Eagle Gate, with huge bulging buttresses on either side, has over the keystone of the arch that spans it a golden beehive, on which is perched an immense eagle with outstretched wings. The wall is broken here and there by round towers. Near it are the historic Beehive and Lion Houses, so-called respectively from the ornaments on each portico. Other houses have their faces turned to the rear of this dead wall. They were once tenanted by the miserable women who accepted, or were compelled to accept, life with the patriarch and other high mightinesses. Trap doors and underground passages are said to exist. In digging cellars and sewers skeletons have been found, All this gives a color of probability to many a weird and ghastly tale. The crumbling walls seem to re-echo the sharp shrieks and dismal moans of the poor sultanas who wept and struggled for freedom. One of these, the fifteenth consort of Brigham, actually did escape, and applied to the United States Court for a divorce in 1874. But in earlier days there was neither ingress nor egress, save through the suave but terrible sultan.

An inmate of the Beehive House says that Mrs. Young, when faded and broken, almost annihilated herself to keep some hold on the capricious affections of her husband. He breakfasted with her every morning, and she, like Rebecca of old, prepared the meats

he loved. She showered attentions on the women who had supplanted her. She was politic, and could smile when her heart was breaking. Poor woman, the end was not worthy of the means; she could not keep the heart of her fickle husband, for he had none.

The saints were not allowed to contribute to Gentile charities, but their own church assessments were very large. The building up of Zion has always been an expensive work. The church was the great merchant. Emissaries in foreign lands, Blood Atoners, Destroying Angels, could not live on air. The expenses of the Temple have already run into millions.

The Destroying Angels do not now exist as a public factor in Mormonism, but the principle that established them in by-gone days, and prompted them to perform their abominable cruelties, still exists. It is well-known that the prophet would brook no resistance. When some rebel was missing it was understood that he had been put out of the way for the good of the church. Many a dark, mysterious tale was whispered of such or such a man who was seen going into the Tabernacle or behind the Eagle Gate, and whose place in the city knew him no more. The Mountain Meadow massacre is an indelible stain on Mormonism. Over a hundred emigrants from Arkansas, *en route* for the Pacific slope, stopped at the holy city to buy provisions. Brigham did not want these strangers to mix with his saints, lest such intercourse might foment the discontent of many to whom Utah had been a land of promise rather than of performance. All were driven out and massacred by the Mormons and Lamanites, or Mormon Indians, September 9, 1857. Many years later, John D. Lee was taken out of Zion's fold and executed for his share in that shocking transaction. Something similar happened, but on a smaller scale, when the "Morrisites" seceded on the polygamy question. They settled in Weber Cañon, entrenched themselves behind stockades and corrals, and were living in peace, when one day the Destroying Angels burst furiously upon them and left many of them weltering in their gore.

A middle-aged man, son of Mormon parents, but a Gentile by choice, who remembers vividly the Mountain Meadow massacre, is a warm admirer of Governor Young, whom he knew intimately. He told the writer that Young was not responsible for all the murders which anti-Mormons lay to his charge; that he had sent a messenger on his fleetest horse to stop the Mountain Meadow massacre. "But," said he, "he wronged himself and his cause by allowing the vilest evil doers to escape unwhipt of justice." Unhappily, however, he cannot be cleared of complicity in these dastardly deeds.

In a material sense he had executive ability and several other qualities of a great ruler. He made much show of what he called religion, and was always ready to affirm that whatever commands he laid on his dupes were the results of direct revelation.[1] He inculcated apparent honesty and truthfulness, and insisted on industry. But even of material progress he allowed but a modicum The mines must not be worked, nor skilful metallurgists introduced, for fear of bringing in the Gentiles. Neither did he care for railroads. But if he could not hinder these projects, he helped, or pretended to help, them. In the laying of the transcontinental railway between his old quarters, Omaha, and San Francisco, he was a heavy contractor. The Mormons built the road between Salt Lake City and Ogden. The modest prosperity that rewarded Mormon efforts in the days of Young's power and prestige was due in a great measure to his watchful eye, his inspiring language, and the partial absence of alcoholic stimulant. The real progress which has made Salt Lake City a notable commercial mart, is due chiefly to the incoming of the Gentiles and Gentile enterprise.

Joe Smith and Brigham Young were men of infamous lives, but, over and above personal merits or demerits, the latter had one quality the former had not, the faculty of being interesting. He attracted attention. People liked to hear of him. He was the personification of absolutism. No one was allowed to air an opinion contrary to his. But though they were as wax in his hands, he never trusted fully to the *vis inertiæ* of the masses. He was the grand archee of the Danites, a secret society sworn to do his will, right or wrong. A few years more of the rule of this despot would have reduced his followers to primeval barbarism. Most of the obloquy of a horrible state of affairs fell on the women. They were emphatically the injured party. History tells us how ferocious women can be. But even had they a competent leader and a capacity for organization, what could the spiritless women of the beehive do against the sensual, avaricious wretches supposed to be their husbands?

Singularly enough, Brigham Young always got on better with Catholics than with any of the sects that settled in his capital. He expressed real love for them, and even condescended to affirm that they would be next *below* the Latter Day Saints in heaven. To this day the Mormons say: "Oh, we like the Catholics and their

[2] An old resident of Utah writes: "Some Mormon leaders are hypocrites of the most arrant type; no better proof can be given than their claim of being in direct communication with God, of having seen Him, etc. In making this statement each knows that he is a liar. Some bishops lay no claim to having seen the Almighty or received revelations from Him. But they profess to believe the statements of those higher in power."

bishop! He always treats us like gentlemen." When certain ministers urged the bishop to sign a petition to the Government to have them rooted out he very properly declined to interfere. They had always been kind to him, and in following a religion which he deprecated they were only exercising their private judgment, like other non-Catholics. But they had no real love for the true religion, nor would it ever have entered the boundaries of Utah if the apostles and elders could have kept it out. The first priests who penetrated President Young's capital were persecuted by his followers, and nothing of this kind was done but by his inspiration and connivance. Threatening letters were sent them; a coffin was hung on Father K——'s door, and he was privately informed that he would be put in a state to occupy it if he did not withdraw from Zion. Ostensibly the sanctimonious prophet was ignorant of all this, and no one would have dared to implicate him. The sturdy priest laid the letters and the coffin before his half-dazed eyes. With the composure and dignity of a leader in Israel he prudently "accepted the situation." Seeing that Catholics could not be kept out, he declared himself their protector. Mass was celebrated in a poor log-cabin, some miners and emigrants forming the congregation. To the Sisters, who were there in 1870, he said: "I am certain I did all a man could do to convert your priest to my religion, and without any success. But I am not so certain that he could not have converted me to the Catholic faith had he remained long enough and tried hard enough." Something like friendship sprang up in him for this bright, sunny priest, of whom he often spoke with affectionate admiration.

Brigham begged the Sisters to remain in his city to teach the children. "I am very anxious," said he, "for good, moral schools for our young people." When a convent was opened by the Sisters of the Holy Cross some years later, Mormon children[1] flocked to it. Intercourse with them brought out curious details of their domestic life. Two little girls, of the same father and different mothers, being about the same age, were called "papa's twins." The largest families number sixty-five, and families of thirty or forty are not uncommon. A theatre manager, while in Salt Lake City, wanted a certain space for his posters. He asked the owner for leave to use it. "Certainly," was the reply, "but I want some tickets for my family." Inquiry elicited the fact that the family numbered forty-one, and the manager thought it cheaper to hire his advertising space.

[1] Even the Destroying Angel put his children at the Convent school, but he would never enter its precincts. When he wanted to see them he would stand on the opposite side of the wide street, and send a messenger across to have them sent to him. When invited to the convent he would say: "I cannot go into that holy house, I am too wicked," or "Don't ask me, I am a bad man."

The bishops soon put a stop to sending Mormon children to the Convent school. Placing an importance on early impressions, which people of greater intelligence in other respects might copy with advantage, they agreed that children subjected to the teachings and example of the Sisters could never grow up good Mormons;[1] and they opened Mormon schools, to which the children were compelled to go. As a rule, the leaders were never unkind to the Sisters, but they did not wish them to invade their territory. Their head-dress seemed to mystify the women. "Madam," said one, very kindly, "have you a headache that you wrap your head so? I can give you something to cure it." Another stopped two Sisters in the street, and said: "What disgraceful creatures you are! You should be ashamed to come among the saints. How dare you lead lives against nature and the prophet?" They did not realize that a life may be above nature or supernatural without being against it. A few told sorrowful tales, but seemed sincere in their belief that some awful deity, whom they could not define, exacted of them the dreadful sacrifice their peculiar institution involves. We did not see a solitary cheerful face among the Mormon women; many faces bore the hard look that unsanctified suffering gives.

Fort Douglas is a great protection. Once a lovely girl of fifteen was dragged from her mother's side and hurried beyond the Eagle Gate, to be sealed to a "Twelve Apostle man." The girl watched her opportunity, and, with the connivance of a friend, fled to the barracks for protection.

Thrilling tales are heard on all sides, but the old days of terror have passed away never to return. One Englishwoman declared that she had been a saint since her eighth year; another was born a saint. In addressing them one must say, "Are you a saint?" not, "Are you a Mormon?" A gentleman having shown us great courtesy, we ventured to ask, "Are you a saint, sir?" "No," said he, "I am a sinner from the Island of Saints." In Utah sinners are preferable to saints. Bishop Scanlan[2] has gained the good will of the Mormons more than the representative of any other denomination. When in Silver Reef, in Southern Utah, he was held in such high esteem by the leaders at St. George, that they invited him to perform service in their Tabernacle. St. George is an exclusively Mormon settlement, almost on the boundary line between Utah and Arizona. High Mass was sung, the Mormon choir assisting, and, according to the report in the official paper of the Mormons, the *Deseret News*, Mr. Scanlan preached a very

[1] Mormon children are taught to ignore all creeds and governments save the Mormon creed and the theocracy of the Mormon church.

[2] Utah was once under the spiritual jurisdiction of the ordinary of San Francisco, and Archbishop Alemany visited Salt Lake City three times.

interesting discourse on the principles of the Catholic faith. The Tabernacle was crowded. "Mr. Scanlan appears to be a man of considerable information, and, considering his faith, appeared liberal in his views. . . . He said: 'I believe you are wrong, and you think I am wrong; but this should not prevent us from treating each other with due consideration and respect!' It is to be hoped that he may retain this feeling in practice as well as in sentiment." Brigham Young was extremely polite to the Catholic clergy and Sisters. When he met them in the street he would stop his carriage, uncover his head,[1] and make a deep salaam. Sometimes he would make a sign to them to approach. And the big, showy man, in gray suit, with a red scarf about his neck and the shiniest of boots, would graciously inquire how they were doing, and emit his best wishes for their health and prosperity. One day two Holy Cross Sisters called on him at the Lion House, and, after some desultory conversation, asked whether he would be pleased to give them some help towards building their hospital. He had no ready money just then; all was invested, much to his regret, as it deprived him of the pleasure of aiding them. The rest of his answer deserves to be put on record *verbatim*. "But," added this high priest, considerately, "whenever you feel that you need any spiritual advice or direction, apply to me, and I will instruct you!" And so he dismissed them with his blessing. So great was his zeal for their salvation that he was baptized for them, as he had been vicariously baptized for George Washington and others.

The present attitude of the United States Government and the aggressive and progressive policy of the liberals are calculated to suppress polygamy; but residents in Utah say that it is still prevalent in many places, while it is extremely difficult to convict an offender. A friend who has been long in the territory says: "The Mormons are a lying, hypocritical, contradictory people; without honor or honesty, conscience or principle." But for their time and opportunities they are few. The whole of Utah does not contain as many people as New Orleans,[2] and of these less than sixty per cent. are Mormons. As for healthfulness, Salt Lake City is not more healthy than other western towns. It has been singularly unhealthy for children, as its populous cemetery shows. Diphtheria has been peculiarly fatal in the holy city, and malarial

[1] Yet Brigham never doffed the hat to any man, even a royal prince.

[2] One who investigated this subject writes: "Polygamy does not, where practised, show a greater number of children born in that state than does monogamy. For example, two men with ten wives each will not show as large families collectively as where the same number of women are married each to one husband." The official church report for 1888 places the number of the "faithful" in Utah at 125,000 souls. The whole population is about 215,000. In 1880 the males were 5055 in excess of the females.

diseases are by no means unknown. People boast of the number of old men and women as a proof of the salubrity of the climate; but, if we take into account the fact that most of the adults are foreigners who did not leave their homes until the perils of childhood were passed, a death-rate of over 10 in 1000 in Salt Lake City would be very large.

XI.

Brigham Young died August 29, 1877, at the Amelia Palace, and was buried September 2d. The people grieved for him. The ladies, nearly a score, who considered themselves widowed by his demise, roamed the streets disconsolate, each carrying a large towel to receive her tears as she lifted up her voice and wept. The shrieks rent the air. "The prophet is dead," was heard in every variety of tone. He had been thirty-three years their great Head Centre, and it had never struck the common people that he might, could, would, or should die. He was buried in a large green square near the Eagle Pass. Many tons of granite have been placed over the body. Perhaps it was feared that the grave might be rifled. It is further guarded by a tall iron railing. Four of his consorts are buried in the same field. Should the others decline to marry again, the same posthumous honor will be accorded their remains. Some of his descendants have become Catholics.

Nothing can be more bleak and desolate than the Mormon graveyard on the bare hillside. Thickly are the graves planted in the sandy bench, where the wind often howls and whistles dismally. Some have headstones, others pillars, others curious little headboards coming to a point on the top. The husband is sometimes buried at one end of the family lot, his consorts in the order of their respective deaths beside him. One man had four babes lying at his feet, all born in 1870. On several women's tombstones are carved two hands clasped in the Odd Fellows' grip, with the legend, "She was true." In the cemetery no soft green turf can be seen, no trees worthy of the name; it is a piece of the original desert, planted with the dead, and contains no sign of faith, hope, or peace, no touching appeal for the eternal rest and perpetual light which poor humanity craves. In descending the lonely mountain side, it was a relief to see the grave of a penitent sinner.[1]

[1] In Utah criminals condemned to death are not commonly hanged. They are shot on their coffins. The above-mentioned, being sentenced to death, asked for the Sisters. He told them he wished for a priest. The Mormons had offered to bring one, but he feared one of themselves would personate a priest in order to extort from him secrets about others, and about the situation of certain mines. The Sisters were naturally shocked; but the criminal said: "They are capable of worse than that; I have been with them so long that I know the depths of their depravity." They brought him a genuine priest, and he made his peace with God. He lived a few moments after being shot, and was assisted and consoled by the priest to the last. R. I. P. He did not wish to be interred in the Mormon Golgotha.

Some kind hand had placed upon it a rustic cross on which were scratched the consoling words, " May he rest in peace. Amen."

Neither where the Mormons worship when living, nor where they lie when dead, is any emblem of Christianity to be seen. In the huge ugly Tabernacle, where eight or nine thousand people have sometimes assembled, there is no token of Christian faith; no cross, no dove, no reminder of death, judgment or heaven; no gentle Jesus gazing down on them from the gray walls. Only lions couchant and a beehive adorn the unsightly edifice. The preaching in Mormon assemblies is said to be in keeping with the decorations. If Gentiles are present, they are preached at; if only Mormons, the crops, the weather, and other mundane subjects are introduced.

Descending from the unexpressibly dreary hiding places of the dead, " the valley lay smiling before me." Mazes of orchards, farms, garden patches, with far-away sunny peaks, diversified the grand panorama. But it is all of earth, earthy. Among the turrets of the temple there is no suggestion of heaven. From the elliptical dome of the graceless, unwieldly Tabernacle no symbol of redemption, no towering CROSS arises. The beautiful valley has perhaps seen more sin, and sorrow, and unsanctified suffering than any other vale on earth. Amid its picturesque scenery only the Catholic college, hospital, and cathedral give a ray of hope for the purity and sanctity of the future. Only the Catholic Church can speak to the intelligent Mormon with authority. It is the sole institution he respects, though his passions be in conflict with her pure teachings. He sees little difference between the simultaneous polygamy grafted on his religion by Brigham Young and the successive polygamy legalized wherever divorce holds sway.

The Catholic Church purified the pagan world of the Cæsars, and made her austere virtue a commonplace thing among a people just converted from the worship of Bacchus and Venus. It is more difficult to reclaim those who have fallen from their high estate as Christians into the vices of heathenism. But we can pray, and hope, and say a word in season. Something has already been done towards attracting these misguided people to her communion. More will follow. May this only true civilizer, this divine institution for the saving of souls, make a lasting home among the smiling gardens of Utah. And may every erring child of the falseness and fanaticism of the Mormon patriarch, renouncing sin and cleaving unto righteousness, find rest and salvation in the chaste embraces of our mighty Mother, the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, One and Indivisible.

[Judge Anderson, after a calm, impartial, and exhaustive investigation, has decided that membership in the Mormon church is

incompatible with allegiance to this nation; that the teachings, practices, and aims of that church are antagonistic to the government, and utterly subversive of good morals; and that an alien who is a member of that church is not a fit person to be made a citizen of the United States. He therefore denies the application of several men who have taken the Mormon oaths, to become citizens. (See Salt Lake City *Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1889, and previous numbers.)

In view of the overwhelming mass of evidence from Mormon authorities[1] by which the learned judge arrived at this decision, Bancroft's "Utah," vol. 31 "Pacific States Series," must be considered, in many parts, mere romance, more like the work of a Mormon pamphleteer than of an impartial historian, as a scathing review of that work in the same paper shows.]

OUR RECENT AMERICAN CATHOLIC CONGRESS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

THE moral effect of the first Catholic American Congress has been more far-reaching and intense than the most hopeful among us could have expected. From England, France, Germany, Italy, from the distant colonies, from South America, we have testimony on testimony of the respect American Catholics have compelled from foreign friend and foe by one day's work, and of the admiration, the hopes, the courage, the reasonable fears we have suddenly excited in hearts true and false. Neither books, nor journals, nor intimate communication with us had made Europeans, Catholic or non-Catholic, rightly appreciative of our force, our importance, and our large patriotic ambitions. Whatever our descent, we are willing exiles from intolerable tyrannies. Men more patient, or less foreseeing and decisive, have been educated, perhaps, to look upon us, if not as outcasts, at least as inferiors. Our quiet bearing under the vulgar abuse of fellow-citizens whom we had so freely helped to be our equals, may have led the offspring of those who did not always know how to maintain our fathers' rights, or their

[1] Journal of Discourses, *Deseret News*, etc.

own rights, to look upon us as weaklings in the faith, or in manhood. Young, poor, unpolished, the men of the universities, the colleges, the castle, and the mansion, have somewhat despised us in a pitying way. Then, the fact that American Catholics are the original and true democratic-republicans has made a considerable number of our foreign brethren look upon us as covert enemies of the Church; as men committed to principles inimical to her constitution; as miners, threatening the sacred walls of ancient kingdoms and monarchies—walls sacred only inasmuch as they are mostly builded from the ruins of the temple of Christian liberty. So true is it that the illiberal training of the European State has distorted the minds of the very sons of liberty, and made them fear even her dear name.

To see this democracy of men sprung from every land, united in faithful obedience to our hierarchy and to the Pope, glorying in the principle of toleration that first we sowed in American soil, strong in our claims for the "freedom and independence" of the Papacy and in the declaration of our own right of freedom of conscience in education, binding ourselves to be active for the moral and material well-being of all the citizens of our Republic, offering the hand of fellowship to all other religious bodies, where fellowship can avail to promote the general welfare of the Commonwealth—was to learn a new lesson in history. Our unanimity in expressing devotion to the great Christian principles on which our government was founded, and our determination to maintain those principles intact, as the richest legacy we can leave our children, will surely set some good clerics and laymen a thinking; and the generous and intelligent interest of young and still younger communities in the cause of higher education, in the elevation of the press, and in the fostering and spread of good literature, will slowly awaken the minds of foreign *dilettanti* to the fact that we have successfully struggled for an intellectual as well as a material life, and that we are ready to give the world, as well as to receive from it, valuable and lively instruction. The wit that limited our Catholic mental sky to the storied circumference of a dollar, may now do truthful service in communities not less greedy.

The Congress has not only centred the attention of the Catholic world on our loving, yes, passionate, loyalty to Catholic doctrine, morals and practice; on our attachment to those liberties, not modern but Christian, that we have nourished here from the beginning; on our keen sense of the world-problems of the day, and of

[1] In the *Correspondant*, one of the oldest and ablest of French periodicals, you may still read articles on American Society, labelled: *Les Yankees chez eux;* and yet French Catholics think they are more intelligent than American Catholics! *Vide Le Correspondant*, Dec. 10, 1889.

the part we are to play in their solution—it has more than all opened the minds of clerics and laymen to the fact that we have been writing a chapter in the history of the Church. It is, indeed, a "wonderful chapter, a chapter big with promise, and all the hope and future civilization of mankind."[1] The Italian, the German, the Frenchman, the Englishman, who would measure the present, who would act in the present and on the future, must first learn our wonderful chapter well by heart. Providential our work has been, but not unstudied, not without method and design. We learned the lesson that was beaten into us by foreign tyrants and demagogues. We have long been conscious of the fact that "in religion, as in other things, it" *is*—not "seems to be"—"the destined lot of the New World to redress the balance of the Old."[2]

The sympathy of European Catholics, as shown by hearty greetings or by the presence of distinguished envoys, and the intelligent judgment formed by the foreign Catholic press on the work of the Congress, are significant of the times, of the new day that is dawning, and of the leading part we are to play in the grand tragedy of the future. Not less significant is the effect produced on the persecuting liberalism, Protestant and infidel, that has mastered a great part of the Old World. To imagine that we, who not too coolly, though safely, have watched the specious evil-doing of the real enemies of freedom, would betray the cause for which we have suffered so much, and join them in their criminal attempt on the only constant protector of liberty in this world,—the Roman Catholic Church,—was to misprize our light, intellect, experience, traditions and education. It was well that Masonic pseudo-Catholics, compromisers of the Papal authority, persecutors of the clergy, anti-Jesuits, social revolutionists, legal robbers of church property, lay educationists, anti-clericals, should learn, once for all, that the Catholic laymen of America are proud of being pro-Papal without compromise; that they are proud of the Jesuits from whose chaste loins the Church in the United States drew its vigorous life, and who have filled this land with lovers of liberty and haters of tyranny. It was well that our "clericalism" should have been made as clear as our manhood and loyal independence; and that we should have given warning to those who have not counted on us that we are watchful, young, strong, decided and almost done with waiting. The Italian free-thinkers have already heard our strong voice. There are others who have caught the meaning of our words, even if they give no sign. In time, let us hope, we shall not so fear the sound of our own voice as we have feared it for a century.

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[1] Quoted from the London *Tablet*, November 30, 1889, p. 853.

[2] *Vide* London *Tablet*, *loc. cit.*

Let us draw encouragement from the respectful attention of the enemy. False liberty! *Voila l'ennemi!*

The moral effect of the Congress on our neighbors in Canada was apparent during the Congress itself. The presence of Cardinal Taschereau and the address of Premier Mercier showed that Catholic Canada was quick to grasp the full meaning of the new movement. Recognizing that "the Church which Bishop Carroll erected on the free soil of America is one of the greatest in the world,"[1] they evidently look upon it as a force whose influence is not to be limited by territorial lines. Our Canadian brethren find themselves face to face with problems that we have solved, or that we are preparing to solve. Their experience will be useful to us, and the fact that we have, at considerable cost, partially civilized Boston, may encourage them to hope that our methods will serve them in Toronto. Mutually we may aid each other in educating non-Catholic majorities and minorities up to a full acceptance of that definition of justice which M. Mercier set forth as the rule of his government: "A moral virtue disposing the will always to render to others their rights according to equity." Should the Catholic Congress be the means of still more closely uniting Canadian and American in the cause of religious liberty and of equal rights on this continent, we shall be not a little indebted to the Cardinal and the Premier who so rightly estimated the importance of the occasion, and the advantages to be gained by a union religious if not political.

Our American fellow-citizens who differ from us in religion have not found in the Congress any new cause for refusing due respect to the Church or to Catholics; indeed, we may safely assume that their sense of respect has been largely increased. The press and the ministry are our witnesses that organization is an argument which affects the mass of men more powerfully than logic. After our second Congress not a single eminent backwoods theologian will dare to expose his ignorance by denying our Christianity. Let us have a chance to reach the people directly, and they will quickly educate themselves out of the puerilities that have been preached into them by the learned graduates of village schools, and by dogmatists saturated with the erudition of the town library. A New York journal, whose columns do not always show an intelligent consideration for American Catholics, stated a fact connected with the Congress that must have troubled many ministers and church members who still firmly believe that not to be a Catholic insures the highest order of intelligence and knowledge.

"I had no idea that any single religious congregation in the

[1] *Vide* Premier Mercier's address before the Congress.

Union of any denomination could present so high an average of ability and zeal as does this Congress," said the enterprising journal. "If this Congress were a fair average of the Catholic laity, I should expect to see the whole country Catholicized within the next half century," are the words of the discerning correspondent of the same journal.[1] Some simple men have charged that Catholicity crushes the human intellect. Perhaps we are, naturally, so able that only when we are crushed do other denominations become properly inferior to us. The Catholic layman's intellectual powers and acquirements have been somewhat generally questioned by members of denominations whose intellectual superiority has never been established unless by royal patent, or the great seal of self-sufficiency. If the Congress did no more than to make it plain that Catholic intellect is the ablest in America, the Congress was not held in vain.

The action of the Congress was admirably summed up in another of the New York journals—a journal that deserves the credit of being the first in the United States to treat Catholics and Catholic questions with uniform and intelligent respect. From this summary we quote a few words to show how thoughtful, fair-minded non-Catholics were impressed by the temper of the laymen assembled at Baltimore: "In all its declarations the Congress treated the subjects with which it dealt, and they touched the entire religious, social and educational problem, with a careful regard for Protestant sentiment and Protestant prejudice."[1] That our laymen should have begun to know one another so late, is sincerely to be regretted. To have given such a lesson, at their first meeting, to "sentiment and prejudice"—a lesson not lost, evidently, on serious, unprejudiced men—was, however, to give immediate, certain proof of intellectuality and Christianity. Let us hope, with the same able writer, that: "Even if an attitude so conciliatory does not tend at once to disarm Protestant suspicion of Roman Catholic motives and intentions, it may do so eventually." It is unfortunate, by the way, that the Protestant laymen are not so united in faith that they could meet in congress. There can be little doubt that they would prefer to act with such an able and intellectual body of Christians as we Roman Catholics are, "for the welfare of society and the preservation of revealed religion," rather than risk society and revealed religion in the sole interest of "sentiment and prejudice."

From all parts of the country expressions hardly less respectful have found their way into the editorial columns or the corre-

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[1] The New York *Herald*, November 13th, 1889, p 3.
[2] The New York, *Sun*, November 14th, 1889.

spondence of the leading newspapers. Even periodicals like the *Independent* have sandwiched compliments between misrepresentations that are, for the most part, unintentional. Referring to the honor shown everywhere to the American flag, the *Independent* of November 21st said: "There was in it something of the assertive, as if they knew that their patriotism had been called in question by an oisy clique in Boston and by a foolish 'American' party elsewhere; and they would not let it be possible for any one but a knave to assert that their submission in religious doctrine to Rome could interfere with their patriotism." If the Congress has freed us from all attacks on our patriotism, barring those that are to come from the "knaves," we have done a great service to the country. There are senators and editors who have not heretofore been publicly named by their right name. It was worth a long journey and much inconvenience to have settled the denomination under which our patriotic Protestant fellow-citizens had catalogued these noisy fellows. The *Independent's* name will stick. "It would be silly to question the genuineness or fervor of our loyalty," to quote the *Independent* again. "Its persistent assertion is the first note of difference distinguishing this from a Protestant religious convention." The reason for this "persistent assertion" the editor of the *Independent* tries to explain, but fails through a defect he may some day correct. The Catholic is always a patriot. His creed makes him love his country and its flag, after God and God's Church. He loves it not merely from sentiment, but from duty. He is accustomed to the outward expression of his honest feelings. He is not a statue, but a living man. At congress after congress some worthy representative of the *Independent* will remark the same fervor of loyalty to the flag. Another century will not have cooled Catholic fervor. What an education our non-Catholic fellow-citizens are getting from this single, short Congress! And how great allowance we should make for them! With the best of good-will, many of them find it very difficult to understand us. We are so human.

So much for others—how is it with ourselves? Surprised; there can be no other truthful answer. This was the feeling that first moved every delegate that entered Concordia Hall on the morning of Monday, November 11, 1889, after attending the Mass celebrated in the Baltimore cathedral by the revered Archbishop of New York —surprise at the number of self-reliant, physically strong, serious, good-tempered men who had crowded from every State to give proof of their love for Catholic truth and of their readiness to work for the defense and the spread of that truth. We should not have been surprised had we really known ourselves. What has been done, what is doing, we know. It is men's work, rare work,

and done as men have rarely done it. But we doubt, easily, common report; we question what we have not seen with our own eyes; and, besides, we remember the "hickory" Catholics once so common, when success in the world, fortune, respectability, so-called, were supposed to be the providential guerdon of cowardice. To kneel in some side-chapel in a strange land, a noble on the one hand, many beggars on the other—brothers all—is to gather new strength, new pride, new hope, with thankfulness. You feel that *you* have a world of brothers, united with you in aspiration, in principle, in affection. What a mighty power we are, you exclaim, if we only knew ourselves! Imagine us all united in that unity whose ideal the Church ever sets before us—the unity of peace, good-will, well-doing! Why, there would not be a shadow of ignorance or error in the world, for the very sun of light that shone from out the Cross!

A kindred feeling it was that moved every man at the Congress. Men of the West, the East, the North, the South—Catholics and Americans; no longer Americans and foreign Catholics—at a glance recognized their brotherhood. The eye told that, and more; it told of the revelation of power that had suddenly come to each mind—not political power, others have rightly estimated this, but power to serve "the welfare of society," power to "preserve revealed religion." The depth of this new feeling could be measured by the reception given to the now famous speech of the most dramatic orator in the United States—a speech whose manner and effect will never be forgotten by any one so fortunate as to have heard it. This speech has not escaped criticism, even from the Catholic side; but, perhaps, some men have forgotten that an American Declaration of Independence is traditionally coupled with a bold recital of wrongs patiently suffered. Those who do not belong to our faith will be pleased to pardon us if we manage our own affairs in a wholly American way. The enthusiasm aroused by this short speech was maintained until the closing of the Congress. Indeed, we may safely say that now the enthusiasm is none the less lively because it has been distributed far and wide. It is becoming that we, too, should have a sacred fire on every hearthstone. There it is—who will minister to it?

The laymen of France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, and even of the youthful Argentine Republic, did not wait for our example before beginning to take their duly appointed part in the work of the Church. The layman's part is larger than it has been of late, though not as large as it will be soon. The learned Hettinger, in a recent number of the *Literarische Rundschau*, notices a work of the well-known canon, Salvatore di Bartolo, in which a plea is made for a closer unity with the laity than many of our

clergy might think desirable. It is not the layman's ambition, but the foresight of the hierarchy, that will bring about whatever modifications may be deemed advisable in the relations of the laity to the economy of the Church. Here, though we are all dukes and princes, we have a lively remembrance of what poor helpers many dukes and most princes have been, and we have a becoming fear of the influence of the world, the flesh and the devil, upon lay workers and counsellors.[1]

In Germany it was not the hierarchy that first appreciated the changed conditions. Time has proven that the German Catholic layman's estimate of his uses in the world of the present was not rash. In our own country it is from the bishops that the laymen have received an invitation to combine, consult, and act, in an orderly manner, for the outward defense and the interior development of our holy religion. The character, the meaning, of that invitation was made plain by the honored, courageous and eloquent Archbishop of Philadelphia, in his sermon at the Centennial Mass on the Sunday preceding the opening of the Congress. "And on this great historic occasion you must not be mere observers, but we trust your representatives will speak out freely and fearlessly in the lay Congress, which forms so interesting a feature in this centennial celebration. You know how false is the charge of the enemies of the Church that you are priest-ridden. It is now time that an active, educated laity should take and express interest in the great questions of the day affecting the Church and society." The invitation is not to be misunderstood—free and fearless speech on the great questions of the day that affect the Church and society, questions in which laymen should take and express an interest. His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, was no less clear and precise in his short speech to the members of the Congress: "This Congress, by the mere fact of being called together, emphasizes and vindicates the important truth that it is the privilege, as well as the duty, of the laity to co-operate with the clergy in discussing those great economical, educational and social questions which affect the interests and well-being of the Church, the country, and society at large." For once every educated layman could feel that he enjoyed equal freedom with the youngest Catholic editor.

From His Eminence's frank and prudent address, the delegates were justified in assuming that to the great West the other three smaller points of the compass are indebted for the organization and the management of the Congress. No praise would be too high for the talent displayed both in the organization and the management of the Congress. The men of the North, South, and

[1] *I Criteri Teologici.* Turin, 1889. See F. Hettinger's review in the *Literarische Rundschau*, November 1, 1889, p. 327–329.

East owe themselves a compliment, however. They know how to repress themselves at the right moment. Self-repression can never be confounded with oppression, as long as Mr. Webster's dictionary continues to be contemporaneously unabridged.

His Eminence was quick to see, and to say, what was, indeed, a patent fact, that "the time was too short for so important an undertaking." It was not possible even to do justice to the plan adopted by the organizers—we say adopted, though the published plan seems to have been printed on a body more elastic than paper. Some of the material offered for fearless consideration has not yet come before the delegates, and is, necessarily, reserved for the deliberations of the winter fireside. There was, too, unpremeditated material introduced, which the Congress could hardly have been expected to discuss without due preparation. However, in and out of congresses, we learn by experience. The next Congress, we may be certain, will be so planned that we shall be encouraged to help one another "to discuss those great economical, educational and social questions which affect the country and society at large."

A paper well worthy of discussion was the first on the official order: "Catholic Congresses." Our learned historian, Dr. John Gilmary Shea,—who, if we were as proud of our Catholic-American history as our applause of the moving rhetoric of the speakers at this Congress implied, would be directing an endowed school of young men devoted to the preservation and publication of that history,—offered many valuable suggestions as to the proper scope of the Baltimore Congress, and the spirit in which it should deal with the questions submitted to it. In how far the organizers of the Congress were guided by the experience of our brethren abroad, we have no means of judging; but, from Dr. Shea's summary of the creditable work that has been done within the last forty years, it is evident that we have a fund of useful experience at our disposal.

The spoliation of the Church, and the temporary suspension of the temporal power of the Papacy, no less criminal because temporary, was a subject that might well have occupied the attention of the Congress for twenty minutes, at least; but it was eliminated from the list of subjects on which the representatives of the laity might "speak out freely and fearlessly." Instead of this very living question, in the "Platform," as well as in the ably written paper of Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte,—probably the paper showing the most literary finish of any read before the Congress,—the subject of the "Independence of the Papacy" was presented; a subject which, as it required no discussion, was not discussed. As an historical essay, the paper was highly interesting; as a study of the political

movements of recent years, it showed a considerable acquaintance with the situation; but the conclusion was not the logical conclusion. It would have been quite becoming in a paper written for the special audience of a political review, by a trained diplomatist, who confined himself, through habit, to the purely political sides of the question in their relation to the actual political conditions. No Catholic congress can fix the limits of the Papal claims. As yet the laymen have not been invited to formulate a policy for the Apostolic See, in the matter of its independence. Two Popes, Pius IX. and Leo XIII., have not hesitated to assert that the independence of the Papacy is to be assured only through the free exercise of its rightful, sovereign, temporal power. The Catholic laity of this country know how insecure has been the foundation on which that power has rested. Men's insincerity, malice, greed, have not, however, made a secure foundation needless. Perhaps there is a tendency to assume that Providence intends to manage this matter without our weak co-operation. The laymen prefer to take the judgment of the Church, as expressed by the voice of the Pope—a voice audible to all but the deaf. Minimizing suits certain minds delicately constituted; but clear minds, conservative minds, direct minds, prefer frank, moderate, and unambiguous words, where great principles are involved. The laymen of this country are ready, at any moment, to demand, not merely that "the absolute freedom of the Papacy be scrupulously respected by foreign governments," but also to express their loyalty to the traditions of the Church concerning the place in which that freedom should be, by right, enjoyed. In the East, the laymen have more than once given open expression to their perfect agreement with Leo XIII. in his affirmation of the whole of the Papal rights, and in some future congress, if need be, they shall be pleased to tell why. The words spoken by a learned cleric, as the representative of the American College, at a dinner given in New York to Mgr. Satolli, since the Congress, had no uncertain sound, and commended themselves to laity as well as clergy. There are a few minimizers in the East, but they are, for the most part, precluded from taking part in a layman's congress. The non-Catholic press has not been slow to attribute to the seeming attitude of the Congress on the question of the temporal power, a meaning which it had not. The untimely and not too powerful utterances of a Catholic journal, published neither East nor West, were assumed to represent the views of the American laity. To assume this is to assume that some editors are responsible to the laymen, or that the laymen are responsible for some editors. No congress has, thus far, imposed upon Catholic laymen an official editor. We enjoy that great boon—liberty of the press; and the

Catholic editor will caracole now and then. Artists who practise *le haut manége*, in private, escape public criticism, but those who seek the applause of the public must be prepared, if not for musical sibilation, at least for an artless measure of their training.

The following extract from *The Catholic Standard* of December 7, 1889, will show that there are Catholic American editors who know Catholic American laymen, and who are prepared to try the pace of ambitious riders of the school of modest "independence." "During the last few weeks, the subject of the temporal power," says *The Catholic Standard*, "has been brought more conspicuously to the front among our Protestant contemporaries than otherwise it probably would have been, by some utterances of the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror*. Unfortunately, we failed to see the *Mirror's* article, and can only judge of it by the quotations from it which we have seen in other journals in connection with their comments. Judging from these quotations, we infer that the pith of the *Mirror's* argument was that while the Sovereign Pontiff ought to be free and independent in the discharge of the functions of his exalted office, it was not necessary that he should possess any temporal power, or be the sovereign ruler of any city or territory.

"Some of our Protestant contemporaries, and notably the New York *Independent*, have seized upon this, and—jumping to the conclusion that the *Mirror* (being published in Baltimore) expresses the opinions of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, and that Cardinal Gibbons represents the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII.—are industriously engaged in proclaiming that the Holy Father has gone back upon all his former declarations, and those, also, of all his predecessors in office.[1]

"How utterly preposterous this is, it is scarcely necessary to say. It is unreasonable in the highest degree to suppose that any Catholic prelate, much less a prelate occupying the high position of Cardinal Gibbons, and whose prudence is one of his best-known characteristics, would make the irresponsible utterances of the editor of a Catholic newspaper the medium through which his opinions on a subject of such crucial importance were given to the public. Catholic editors understand this perfectly well. They know that the ordinary of a diocese should not and ought not, and, in the nature of the case, cannot make himself responsible for

[1] From the Roman telegrams of the New York *Sun*, of January 1st, 1890, we extract the following passage, which shows the position of the Pope, according to the latest advices—from Rome. "His Holiness referred to the temporal power as necessary to the independence and liberty of the Pope in the exercise of his mission, and declared that he did not claim the restoration of the temporal power from human motives. It was his right, and he was required to preserve it intact and transmit it to his successor as one of the inalienable treasures of the Christian faith."

what the editors of Catholic newspapers write without regard to whether the newspapers they respectively edit have or have not the express approval of Catholic prelates. To prevent any possible misunderstanding on this point, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore decreed that Catholic bishops ought not and should not make themselves responsible for anything published except what they write over their own names and in the discharge of the duties of their sacred office. This, we think, effectually disposes of the delusion of our Protestant contemporaries that the *Mirror* is the representative of Cardinal Gibbons's opinions.

"As regards the opinion expressed by the *Mirror*, it is clearly a *non sequitur* in logic and in fact. The Holy father *cannot* be free and independent if he is the *subject* of any temporal prince, or king or government, or of any number of them. Yet, a temporal subject he must be, unless he is a temporal sovereign. Nor can he be a temporal sovereign in fact, unless he is not only *de jure*, but also *de facto*, the ruler, the temporal as well as spiritual ruler, of the city or region in which he has an official chair, and where the central, administrative and executive offices and institutions necessary to the government of the Church are situated.

"Simply to attribute to him the honorary title and dignity of a sovereign is not sufficient. That would not in any way meet the exigencies of the case. It would simply be a mockery. What is needed, is that he be a sovereign ruler in fact as well as a sovereign of right. It is not empty honors and dignities that the Visible Head of the Church aspires to or desires. It is simply the freedom and independence which are essential to the unhindered, unhampered discharge of the functions of his exalted office. And to that temporal sovereignty is an indispensable condition." The *Standard's* position is unassailable; and this position will be the Catholic layman's position—until the Papacy has waived its own exalted rights.

The Catholic Press is a subject that might well be discussed in a congress of Catholic American laymen. It was not discussed at the Baltimore Congress. In a paper evidencing a careful study of the present condition of the Catholic press, and a lively sense of its defects and of its possibilities, Mr. George D. Wolff presented question upon question, which will some day be solved by practical men, whose interests may be almost wholly financial. The notion that our ten millions will not support Catholic journals that deserve the support of intelligent men, is a notion not founded on a thorough knowledge of the Catholicity or the mental training of the laymen. If there be a good Catholic journal, or magazine, in the United States, not properly supported, the fault lies with the management, and not with the laymen. Indeed, if they had not

supported journals that should have been allowed to support their own weak selves, perhaps we should now have more good journals than we have—and we have some. The men who are waiting for laymen to seize upon them and make them leading editors, and their journals powerful organs of Catholic opinion, will, in good time, lose faith in us. Show the laymen that you can edit and lead, and take common, ordinary, business means to bring your journal to their attention, and you will find that your success will astonish you. The Catholic editor who attended the Catholic Congress, and did not carry away this lesson with him, should hastily settle down in his predestinated home—Sleepy Hollow. Mr. Wolff's paper is still open for discussion, and it deserves discussion.

Catholic American literature is a kindred subject, and one dismissed by the Congress after Mr. Condé B. Pallen had presented its claims. In a hearty, general way, the "Platform" says a good word for Catholic writers, Catholic books, Catholic circulating libraries and reading circles. If the Catholic publisher was omitted, it was, doubtless, because the committee knew that he might safely be trusted to take care of himself. A word from a Catholic publisher telling laymen the great things that have been done, and that are doing, to encourage Catholic writers, and to keep at work their compulsorily idle pens, would have been most agreeable to the laymen who have not yet taken hold of the publishing business. The publishers say that fewer good Catholic books are published in this country to-day than there were thirty-five years ago; and they claim that of the books published fewer are sold than were sold thirty-five years ago. The laymen who buy books would like to see the statistics. If the facts be as stated, they are not wholly creditable to laymen. But how about the publishers? Do we read no books worth mentioning, or is it only that we do not read the books that our publishers do not publish? A Catholic editor, who has won his spurs as a writer,—and they are made of good metal,—quite recently paid his compliments to the Catholic publishers after this fashion: "An endless string of English books and European translations has been spun out upon Catholic Americans, and old editions have been re-cooked with new sauces *ad nauseam*."[1] Apparently, among Catholic publishers, it is not the fittest who survive—thirty-five years. The subject of our Catholic literature has a very practical side. There will be a good literature only when the writers have assimilated the truth that the pen is mightier than the retailer of "English books and European translations," and the condescending printer of original work on a heart-breaking commission. The writers need union, acquaintance; above all,

[1] The Catholic Review, December 7, 1889.

intelligent action for a common end. It is unfortunate that they allowed this Congress to pass without taking a practical step towards a more intimate association.

Catholic art—architecture, sculpture, painting, music—will, we assume, be encouraged at the next Congress. It will be the first place in which the arts, whose glory is the glory of the Church, have received public recognition. A hundred years of church building should have been as effective as a royal academy in developing the talent which, as it is not denied to Americans who are not Catholics, we may presume is not wholly refused to American Catholic laymen. There was at least one representative of Church music at the Congress. His song recalled Mendelssohn. Its melody was not vocal. Catholic artists will know that Catholic writers have mastered the secrets of one chord at least—the chord of sympathy.

To turn from a neglected art to a pressing world-problem, the problem of intemperance, we find the platform of the Congress temperate and prudent in its support of the side of law, order, public decency, and the welfare of the community. The paper read before the Congress by Mr. John H. Campbell was remarkable for its frank criticism of the latest attempts to make men temperate by legal statutes. Outside of the Catholic Church it is rare to find supporters of total abstinence who do not place an abiding trust in legislative enactments. To hear the practical value of the Catholic principle of moral suasion so strongly emphasized by one whose close study of actual conditions must have made his authority more than ordinarily valuable, was to find new cause for hope that, in this country, the Church may, in time, teach non-Catholics the true remedy for intemperance—self-restraint based on religion.

Catholic societies and Catholic young men's societies commanded a few minutes' attention from the laymen. The paper read and the speeches made on these topics were, probably, filled with new ideas, but the benefit derived from them will not be due to the interchange of views, and the comparison of experiences, brought out at the Congress. Though we have done much here in the way of charity, and in the way of protecting and assisting young men, we have still much to learn from Catholic Europe, where the best minds among the laymen, as well as among the clergy, have generously devoted themselves to developing the action of the Church upon society at large. When this work has been thoroughly explained to Catholic American laymen, they will be better prepared to deal with these subjects at home, and they will, besides, be incited to follow their brothers in well-doing.

As Americans and as Catholics we are doubly interested in the

all-absorbing social question and in the question of popular education. The Congress listened to a portion of the single paper that dealt with the former subject. Mr. Foy had evidently gathered statistics of more than ordinary value, and laymen who wish to prepare themselves for a study of the problem that is generally, and not too logically, formulated under the caption, capital and labor, will derive much desirable information from a leisurely reading of his essay. There was no discussion of Mr. Foy's paper, nor of any question germane to the subject he so well handled. Discussion would have been useless. As far as lay society is concerned, the social question is eminently a practical question. To theologians laymen must leave the discussion of the morality of principles and of acts, to which so-called economists occasionally pin their variable faith. The layman's work is simple, and can be learned without essays or books dealing with generalities. Men suffer evils from ignorance, negligence, vice or viciousness. Organized common sense and organized charity can cure most of these evils. They will not cure themselves, and an essay a day will not modify them. Nor will the ever-convenient, fetish-worshipped statute relieve society of them. The human mind and conscience, and human passions, are ten thousand times more elastic than written law. Catholic laymen in Congress assembled can do immeasurable service in improving the social condition of all the citizens of our beloved land. But those who come to read papers before the Congress must bring practical ideas based on proven facts. We want studies of life in certain localities; studies of the conditions affecting certain trades and manufactures; studies of mining in certain States; studies of farm life and of the agricultural laborer's home, habits, pay,—studies re-enforced by suggestions or plans for the material improvement and the special education of certain classes. Of course it is much easier to "resolve" than to work; and the mass of mankind imagines that it can "resolve" society into a pleasing shape at the command of fine words. In this country there has been too much windy "resolution" and too little Christian activity. In our Catholic congresses, workmen, employers, bankers meet on common ground. They meet to serve each other. If their joint, prudent, practical action does not effect a desirable change in the social condition of our countrymen, it will be because we have not here, as our Catholic brethren in Europe have, a body of intelligent, thoughtful, high-minded men who are ready to found a profession not new in the Catholic Church—the profession of intelligent, scientific, unselfish Catholic benevolence. In a very practical paper read before the Congress by Major H. F. Brownson, the scope of "Lay Action in the Church" was well developed, and due stress was laid upon the

fact that our liberty of action was far less trammelled than that of Catholics in the Old World. Is our liberty of action in the field of Christian charity—for the whole social question is closely bound up with the question of charity—more limited here than abroad? If not, then there is no reason why we should not begin to organize the social machine, so that it may be fitted to do its best work in "The New Social Order."

It is worthy of remark that the two able speakers who were selected to bring the subject of Catholic education before the Congress were more or less intimately connected with the South. There is no "Catholic Church South." Our politics do not split *our* religion in halves. West or South—we are all one; and our unity on the question of religious education is now to be seen of all men. Here again we must emphasize the moral effect of the Congress. We knew we were united on this subject. We could not be otherwise. The question is one of loyalty to Christ. Other men who claim to be Christians may be willing to sacrifice Christianity in the interest of paganism, but we shall not. It is not a question of civil unity, it is not a question of un-sectarianism, it is not a question of the amalgamation of diverse races. It is a question of God or irreligion—a question to move the Christian patriot above all other questions. The Catholic position was fairly, strongly, boldly, and withal, moderately put by Messrs. Dunne and Kelly. However, this is also a practical question—a question to be *solved* by the Catholic laymen. To have shown the men of every State in the Union that the Catholics of every State were combined in affirming a principle —the principle that "religion and education are inseparable"—was to clear the way for practical action. Though local conditions must be considered in the settlement of this vast problem, there is a common ground on which all Catholics can meet and act for the common good. Our interests in the matter are now so large—property interests, money interests, to name no others—that they deserve a kind of consideration they have not thus far received. A suggestion of the observant and learned Dr. John Gilmary Shea might well be considered and applied, even before the next Congress. Why should not a central committee of experienced men be appointed to study the educational problem in its various aspects, and to draw up and put into effect a general plan of action whose object should be the education of the people of every State in the true principles of education; in the rights and duties of our American States, where liberty of conscience is guaranteed to all men; in the practicableness of a system of education in which the rights of men of all religions, and of no religion, should be fully protected, a system assuring the peace of society,

the education of all our youth, and a hearty agreement in the development of free public instruction? Why should not subordinate State committees, through the press, the platform, the pamphlet, spread the great principles of liberty that we almost alone support? Shall we sit hugging our own patriotism, our own assured sense of right, our own just estimate of our power? Or shall we go out of doors, and, from the house-top, voice our wisdom and our sense of duty? Freedom of education, which has been deceitfully stolen from American citizens, will be recovered only as every other freedom has been won. By action, courageous, intelligent, and peaceful. A Catholic is always peaceful—until peaceful methods cease to be manly. It is to be regretted that the subject of education was so sandwiched in with other questions that the Catholic Congress could not take the first step in the way of its practical solution.

The Congress solved one question—the equality of the red man and the black man with the Catholic white man. Has any other Christian body proclaimed its Christian sense of equality in the same frank way? Are our variously colored brothers to be not even step-brothers in the fraternal congregation of anti-Romanism? And do our white and separated brothers mean to insist that we shall carry the banner of equality alone, as we do carry the banner of liberty? We are ready. Our sense of equality is as unbounded as our desire for perfect fraternity. In all these we give more than we receive. If our non-Catholic brethren will deal with us as fraternally as we deal with the Indian and the Negro, we may, on the occasion of the Columbus celebration, joyfully embrace one another—a band of brothers. Our first colored Catholic priest and our first colored Catholic editor were no less honored at the Congress than were Chief Joseph and White Bird—birds of promise all. Our American Propaganda is young, but who shall say how soon it will outstrip its Roman mother? In good time we shall lend a helping hand to the single-hearted Europeans who are so forward in the "civilization" of Africa. We owe a new civilization to many lands still uncivilized. Providence has made this part of our mission clear.

With a large generosity, our western brethren accepted Mr. Campbell's proposition that the next congress should be held in New York. When eastern—somewhat eastern—solidity combines with western dash in the choice of a plan for another congress, and in the organization of Catholic laymen for practical purposes, the men from the North and the South will recognize that the sandwiches were cut with a freer hand. Probably few of the delegates to the Baltimore Congress knew, or know to-day, on what basis representatives were chosen. The quality of the work

done at any congress will depend largely on the selection of the delegates; and no intelligent plan for the holding of a congress can be put into operation until a wise system of selection has been elaborated. As we understand it, each bishop chose his own representatives at the Baltimore Congress. No doubt, religious societies, colleges, the professions, trade, the arts, were represented in a general way; and no doubt there were ten or twenty delegates from some one walk in life to one from some other walk. Such a mode of representation cannot be rightly effective. Trade, mercantile pursuits, the various professions, the arts, colleges and religious societies should all be represented, and represented equally. Life insurance is important, but no more so than the higher education. Temperance is important; but no less so are the relations between employer and employed, and the condition of the working classes. The press has its importance; but it is not greater than that of general literature and its diffusion. Good work can only come from an orderly, truly representative body of *specialists*, whose force is in their knowledge, even more than in their numbers. Thus representative, we shall be no less desirable railroad excursionists, and every delegate will carry with him something larger than his gripsack, and weightier than his uncountersigned ticket, in the shape of concentrated mental food. The honor of a nomination by the bishop as a delegate to a congress so constituted will not be less than was the honor conferred at Baltimore. The moral effect of the congress will be greater, and the practical effects immediate and positive.

Before this assembly all Catholic questions with which laymen have to do might be discussed in writing, and not otherwise. A body of loose debaters may rule a nation in a way to please some people, but the way will not commend itself to Catholic laymen. Each topic should be discussed by those fitted to discuss it. Hence, the delegates, according to the special interests they have been chosen to represent, would be divided into groups or sections. Artists, literary men, journalists would meet together. Employers, employed and financiers would form a section apart. Associations, according to their aims and modes of action, would consult together. The historical essay, if not read before the general assembly, would find a hospitable reception in some section.

The benefits derivable from a congress organized in this way—and the way is not new—are apparent. All the men who devote themselves to particular lines of thought will form an acquaintance useful to themselves and doubly so to us. The free interchange of well-considered views and of studied experience will naturally broaden and strengthen individual minds; and thus the Catholic body will be even better protected from the errant knight of the

hobby-horse, and from the self-asserting champion or hero of a narrow provincialism. Like the rest of the world, we are often allowed to esteem most highly notions that are ours only because of the ignorance which we are pleased to think is rare knowledge. This disease is curable by the Mental Friction treatment. The whole of American society will feel the influence not only of the idea, but of the work developed in a thoroughly representative congress. Such a congress will be a movable university, vivifying the thought and informing the minds, not of sixty men, but of sixty millions of men. The "resolutions" of this congress will be verbal signs of the organized action of the various groups. The word is good only inasmuch as, testifying to life, it enkindles life.

This congress-university should affect not merely Catholic thought, but non-Catholic thought. Into every community, into every legislative body, it should bring new ideas, new truths,—ideas and truths which only the Catholic Church holds, and which she alone can spread,—ideas and truths on which the life of all human society depends. In senates and legislatures Catholics may not be fairly represented, or, worse still, may be unfairly represented, but the laws of any State that are not based on Catholic principles are blighting laws, laws not conceived in justice, laws that needs must undermine the social fabric. To be un-Christian is to be destructive. Protest against bad laws implies neglect on the part of those whose groans are so effectively rhetorical. A timely sense of right and duty, the vigilance that is not an unmanly virtue, may deprive writers of protests of due fame or a living, but will do more for true progress than the noblest protest art, and feelings too late injured, can conceive. To awaken a spirit of vigilance in our own ranks, to vitalize the vigorous sense of right without which no man can be free, to assist parties and politicians in the painful acquirement of the meaning of the word conscience, should be some of the open aims of future congresses—aims that will not be left to slumber under an embroidered counterpane of words.

The various groups or sections of a congress, organized on the plan here suggested, will be real working committees on education, the press, literature, Catholic rights, charity, association, the social movement, the arts—committees of experts whose open expression of views need not be feared. These committees exist now throughout the land, but unorganized and voiceless or discordant. Give them accordant voice! To have living forces, and to fail to recognize them or turn them to account, is not to show an intelligence greater than is commonly shown in this dull world. With these expert working committees in operation, the committee on resolutions will find its labors simpler, and its utterances will fully

and exactly represent the tenor of the best Catholic American lay thought, and its studied choice of modes of action. His Grace of Philadelphia finds "that the best educated among the laymen are sound on the great questions of the day." How, indeed, could it be otherwise with the long line of worthy bishops and priests whose devotion and learning have so served us as examples, as incentives and as guides! The higher the education, provided it be Christian, the sounder the layman, as well as the cleric, on the great questions of the past and the present. A due humility is a consequence of all true education, and this implies a due measure of constituted authority, and a moderation that is the very alphabet of wisdom. The committee on resolutions will naturally be made up of equal representatives from the various sections. In its meetings, that debate which consultation implies will surely shape the "platform" in a way to carry not merely the official consent of the hierarchy, but also the unanimous and reflecting approval of the assembled congress. The discussion has been representative, and more thorough than it could be in a general meeting. The moral effect and the practical consequences of a unity so evidently intelligent and considered will be immeasurably great.

His Grace of St. Paul, in the sermon preached in the Baltimore cathedral on the evening of the centennial celebration,—a sermon full of noble enthusiasm,—having spoken of what we had done, and what there was yet to do, boldly asked the question: "And why should we fear or hesitate?" Let us quote a single sentence from his hopeful answer: "We number ten millions—a powerful army in the arena of truth and justice if the forces are well marshalled and their latent strength brought into action." Aye! there's the rub! *If* the forces are well marshalled and their latent strength brought into action. A meeting is not a marshalling, nor can latent strength be fairly applied until its elements and intensity have been exactly measured. In this first Congress we have surprised ourselves and the rest of the world. But there is a greater surprise in store for others and ourselves when, "marshalled" in a second congress, we first begin to realize the true potentiality of our forces. Thereafter shall be neither fear nor hesitation!

Scientific Chronicle.

THE FORTH BRIDGE.

The great bridge across the Frith of Forth, near Edinburgh, is now completed, and suitable preparations are being made for its opening early this year. This bridge opens up better communication between the north and south of Scotland, and gives the Northeastern, Midland and Great Northern Railway Companies direct access to the eastern and northern districts. In 1873 an act of Parliament was obtained for the erection of a suspension bridge at this point. The designs were made by Sir Thomas Bouch, contracts entered into, workshops built, and the foundations were started, when, in 1879, a severe gale swept away a portion of the Tay bridge. This accident caused the companies interested in the new bridge to suspend operations until some other plans could be proposed for making the desired communications. Although work had been begun on the suspension bridge, it was not generally considered applicable for the passage of heavy railroad trains. After the engineers of the various railroad companies interested had consulted about the matter, it was found that they had unanimously agreed that the cantilever and central-girder steel bridge, designed by Sir John Fowler and Mr. B. Baker, was the cheapest and best suited for the position. An act of Parliament was obtained in July, 1882, for the construction of this bridge, and a contract was made in December of the same year with Tancred, Arrol & Co. for the execution of the entire work.

The cantilever system here adopted is not new. In 1810 Mr. Pope proposed to build a cantilever bridge of 1800 feet span across the East River, between New York and Brooklyn. Mr. Pope exhibited, at that time, a 50 feet model of his bridge. But, long before this, the Chinese had built a number of bridges on this same principle, while savages were driven to adopt it when, meeting with streams too wide to jump and too deep to ford, they would lash a log to the projecting branches of a couple of trees growing on the opposite sides of the stream. In this rude bridge we have the essential features of the great Forth bridge. The cross-piece answers to the central girder, and the branches are the cantilevers or brackets which support it.

The introduction of iron, and especially of steel, has rendered possible the construction of bridges of such magnitude as the Brooklyn and Forth bridges. In these two we have the rival methods of construction adopted for very long spans. In the cantilever method the bridge is built out equally on each side of a pier, so as always to preserve stable equilibrium, while in the suspension method the roadway is suspended from immense cables or steel ropes. If, in the future, metallurgical science provide commercially aluminium or an equally strong and light

metal, we will undoubtedly witness still more marvellous developments in bridge building. But, at present, such large spans as those in the Forth bridge are possible only with steel.

When, then, we reflect on the great weight of the material employed, we conceive some idea of the economy of detail which must be practised to give the bridge the necessary strength, as the chief stress is due to the weight of the bridge itself, and not to the load that moves over it. The cantilever system seems well suited for this purpose, and American engineers were not slow in appreciating its advantages, for since the plans of the Forth bridge were proposed, no less than half a dozen bridges on the same principle were erected in this country. Chief among them is the Poughkeepsie bridge, which is the greatest rival the Forth bridge has in that style of construction. In these two bridges we notice peculiarities of construction as practised in Europe and in this country. European engineers rivet up the bridge as much as possible into a rigid structure, while American engineers adopt the articulated system of triangular parts or cells with pin joints, so as to permit of rotation. The American system has secured the contract for the great Hawkesbury bridge in Australia.

The Forth bridge is supported by three main piers, known as the Fife, the Inch Garvie and Queensferry piers. The Inch Garvie pier stands on an island of that name in mid-stream. A span of 1700 feet connects with the Fife pier on one bank, and a span of the same length connects it to the Queensferry pier on the other bank. From the Fife and Queensferry piers the shoreward end of the cantilevers forms, on each side, a span of 675 feet. Fifteen spans of viaduct, each 168 feet, complete the bridge, giving it a total length of a mile and a half. Of this length almost one mile is covered by the great cantilever spans, the remaining half mile being viaduct-approach. The bridge is 120 feet wide at the piers and 32 feet wide in the centre. At high tide the roadway is 150 feet above the water, while the steel towers that support the cantilevers reach a height of 360 feet.

In 1883 work was begun on the piers that support the steel towers. They were put in position on the compressed air system. That is, hollow cylinders were first made, floated into position, sunk, and then filled in with masonry. To sink them, an excavation had to be made below each pier. This was done by making an air-tight roof 7 feet above the bottom edge of each cylinder. The water was then forced out of this compartment by means of compressed air, thus forming, at the bottom of each cylinder, a huge diving-bell 70 feet in diameter and 7 feet high. This air-chamber was lighted by means of electricity, and in it the workmen carried on the excavation to a depth of 90 feet below the waters of the Forth. The men entered by means of a shaft furnished with air-locks, and the pressure of the atmosphere in which they worked sometimes reached 80 inches of mercury. When one first passes through an air-lock, he experiences a painful pressure on the drums of the ears, which is relieved by the act of swallowing. Pains in the limbs are generally the result of work in this compressed air, and if the work is continued

too long paralysis will ensue. During the construction of the Forth bridge there were no accidents directly attributable to air-pressure.

As soon as the piers were ready, work was begun on the steel towers and cantilevers. The cantilevers or brackets were built out and upwards from the base of the towers. They consist of huge steel tubes 12 feet in diameter at the base and 1¼ inches thick. The end pressure on one of these tubes is 6224 tons. The building out into space of these tubes on both sides of the towers, without scaffolding to support them, is one of the features of this mode of construction. The vertical tubes in the towers are 343 feet high, ⅝ inch thick, and will carry a load of 3279 tons. The roadway is supported not only by the cantilevers, but by tension members, consisting of lattice-work running out obliquely from the upper part of the towers. The greatest pull on these tension members is 3794 tons. The weight of one of the 1700 feet spans is about 16,000 tons, there being 50,000 tons of steel in the whole structure. Throughout, the bridge is firmly braced by lattice girders to resist the force of the wind, which, on one of the 1700 feet spans, at the supposed pressure of 56 pounds per square foot, would amount to 2000 tons.

To carry on this work an army of 3500 workmen was employed. This large number of men was required, as much of the preparatory work was done on the ground and herein we have a striking difference between the method pursued in the erection of the Forth bridge and that followed at the Eiffel tower. In the case of the Forth bridge, the works are furnished with the plans of the fitting and with the parts, while some margin is left for their adjustment and completion. There is therefore need for the employment of a large stock of tools requiring mechanical power. At the Eiffel tower, on the contrary, there was no such demand. The parts reached the tower complete in every way. Each piece was numbered, and fitted the preceding piece with mathematical exactness. If a piece was found in which the rivet holes were misplaced, the foreman returned it at once to the factory. Much is to be said in favor of both methods of proceeding.

At the Forth bridge there was hydraulic machinery for bending and setting the material, and machinery for planing, drilling, erecting and riveting. The greater part of it was original in design and novel in construction on account of the unusual character of the work to be accomplished, and which stands to-day one of the greatest pieces of engineering in the world.

RAMIE.

Among the machines exhibited at the Paris Exposition, Group 6, Class 54, contained those for decorticating ramie. The invention of Michotte seems so have solved the problem of rapid decortication. It has this advantage over the older machines, that it is adapted to stripping the bark not only from the dry material, but also from the green plant. It consists of four cylinders of quite large diameter and provided with

grooves. An endless feed-cloth carries the stalks to the cylinders, where they are crushed. Thence they are carried to an elastic steel scutcher, which is fitted with a counter-scutcher of special form. Here the bark is beaten off, and the mechanical process in the separation of the fibre is complete. This machine can work not only on stalks that have been stripped of their leaves, but, what has not been hitherto done, can treat stalks with the leaves on. This machine is capable of decorticating, in a day, the product of two and a half acres.

The invention and improvement of machines of this kind, as well as the development of cheap chemical processes for the separation of the fibre from the foreign substances with which it is associated, together with the erection of suitable machinery for spinning and weaving it, will lead to the cultivation of a rich crop well adapted to the climate of our southern States. Ramie is a spearless nettle, called by botanists Boehmeria. It is a plant which, with little irrigation, grows rapidly, yielding easily, in a good climate, three crops a year. Its great vitality is due to its means of securing nourishment. It has large leaves, which cluster around the top of the plant, and a root which multiplies rapidly and spreads out into a complicated network of rootlets covering a large area, from which nourishment is drawn for the stalk. Ramie grows very much like the willow. Fifteen or twenty switches will shoot up from the same root. For the purpose for which it is used, the stalks should be as long and as straight as possible. This is secured by putting the plants in the ground as close together as convenient, and then the stalks will grow erect and branching will be prevented. When once set in the ground it will continue to grow for upwards of twenty years without replanting, requiring but little attention, and yielding, as stated above, three crops a year, each crop being as valuable as a good wheat crop.

It would not be a profitable crop in our northern States, as the frost of winter would kill the roots, but it is admirably suited to the conditions of climate in many of our southern States. Those who have grown ramie in Louisiana state that an acre yields easily 1000 pounds of the crude fibre for each crop. This crude fibre, which is the marketable article, sells for four cents a pound, thus bringing yearly, when three crops are cut, $120 per acre. Two crops yearly are certain, proving it to be a most lucrative product.

The ancient Egyptians used to shroud their dead in winding sheets made of ramie, and for over a thousand years the Chinese have cultivated this plant. In China the work of stripping the bark from the stalk is done by hand. Such a process pays in China, where manual labor is cheap. We need not, however, expect capitalists in this country to invest money for the working of the fibre until suitable machinery is at hand to work it profitably. From the interest shown by many in this field, we hope soon to see a new industry spring up amongst us.

The first process in preparing the thread from the fibre is the mechanical one of stripping the stalk; then the chemical one of dissolving out the gummy and resinous substances associated with the fibre, which is then bleached. When purified, it consists of pure cellulose. Special spinning mills are then required for the working of ramie.

It has twice the strength of flax or hemp, washes better and becomes whiter. When carefully prepared, it has the lustre of silk. It does not rot in water, and hence is in great demand for sails, cordage, fishing-tackle, etc. In fine, it has properties which recommend it to all, and assure it a widespread use.

THE CHANNEL BRIDGE.

DURING the past century many schemes have been proposed to connect England with the Continent, but the plan for the bridge which is now attracting the attention of technical authorities, especially in France and England, seems to be capable of execution. Steel is the metal proposed for the bridge, and with recent improvements in bridge construction, it seems quite feasible to make spans, 500 metres in length, resting on piers built up from the bed of the channel. The preliminary plans, submitted by MM. H. Hersent, Schneider & Co. and Fowler & Baker, are made up of reports respecting the foundations of the piers, the construction of the metal superstructure, and the methods to be adopted in placing both. The engineers admit that some alterations will have to be made in the plans whenever final reports are to be made, but in their present form they furnish sufficient data for competent persons to form correct judgments on the practicability of the scheme. According to these data, about 1,000,000 tons of metal will be needed for the superstructure and the necessary machinery. The supposition is that England will furnish one-half of this amount and France the other half. On rough calculation the cost would be about 380,000,000 francs for masonry, 480,000,000 francs for the superstructure; in all, 860,000,000 francs, or $172,000,000. This does not take into account the cost of terminal arrangements, which would have to be planned later. The engineers are of opinion that the work could be completed in about ten years.

Nature herself seems to have marked out the direction the bridge will take. It will be over the shallowest portion of the channel, joining the nearest points on the opposite shores. It will thus run from Cape Grisnez, on the French coast, to near Folkestone, England, passing over the banks of Colbart and Varne. These banks are near the centre of the channel, and about 6 kilometres apart. At low tide the water is about 8 metres deep at these points, so they can avail themselves of these banks and thus avoid working in great depths, and, moreover, lessen the height of the piers. There is a depression of 27 metres between the banks, while between Varne and the English coast the greatest depth does not exceed 29 metres. On the other side of the banks of Colbart, however, greater difficulty would be experienced in erecting the piers, as the water is deeper, reaching a depth of 55 metres. The channel bottom is everywhere made up of white and blue chalk, which is well able to bear the weight of the piers and their superstructure.

The masonry will be built inside metal caissons, and forced by com-

pressed air down to the solid bottom. The caissons will be enclosed in metal cases, which will serve to float the piers until the ground under them is carefully prepared by an application of concrete, on which they will rest. On these piers cylindrical steel towers will rise to a height varying from 40 to 42 metres, and on these towers the main girders of the bridge will rest. At low tide the lowest beams of the bridge will be at least 61 metres above the water. The spans are so arranged that the longest corresponds to the deepest water. The plan of adopting spans of different lengths, distributed as above described, harmonizes economy in the preparatory work and the requirements of navigation. The lengths decided on for the spans are 500 and 300 metres for the larger, and 200 and 100 metres for the smaller. The width of the bridge is variable, reaching 25 metres in certain parts, thus increasing its stability under wind-pressure. They have chosen simple unlatticed trussed-girders as the best adapted for a uniform distribution of all the stresses. A double track will run across the bridge, but no provision has been made for a wagon-way. Suitable flooring and stations will, however, be introduced to insure the safety of employees, and the piers will be converted into lighthouses. It has been proposed to adopt the cantilever system of support for the larger spans. The bridge is not in any way considered an obstacle to navigation in the channel, and its erection would give a stimulus to national industry in both France and England. The English government may, however, object to it on the same score that it objected to the tunnel, namely, that France might use it as a means of introducing a hostile army into England. Drawbridges at the termini would solve this difficulty, and, if there is no other obstacle to the erection of the bridge, we may expect to see the realization of this gigantic piece of engineering, as it is said that a company is ready to carry out the work.

MINOR NOTES.

Solar Eclipse, December 22, 1889.—The line of totality began between Hayti and the northwest of South America; then ran in a southeasterly direction, touching the continent in two or three points. Leaving South America it crossed the South Atlantic Ocean, reaching Africa near St. Paul de Loanda; thence it travelled northeast to the east coast of Africa, where it ended in latitude 5° north. The path of the shadow was a long, narrow track 5000 miles in length and only 100 miles wide, which extended nearly its entire distance over the ocean. For Cape Hatteras and southern Florida the sun arose partially eclipsed for a few moments. Stations on the west coast of Africa had a totality of about three minutes. The greatest duration of totality, lasting about four minutes, occurred in mid-ocean.

The United States war-ship Pensacola, which left New York on the 17th of October, carried the members of the scientific corps commis-

sioned to observe the eclipse. The station selected was Maxima, on the Guango River, on the west coast of Africa. Prof. David P. Todd, of Amherst College, Mass., is chief of the expedition. Among the assistants are Prof. F. H. Bigelow, of Racine College; Prof. E. J. Loomis, of Harvard; Prof. C. Abbe, College of New York; Prof. L. H. Jacoby, of Columbia; E. B. Preston, of the Coast Survey; W. H. Brown, of the National Museum; Prof. H. S. Davis, of Princeton, and others. During the journey many deep-sea investigations will be conducted by Prof. Agassiz. Many valuable instruments have been provided, and important results are expected from the expedition.

URANIUM.—Shortly after the discovery of the planet Uranus by Herschel, Klaproth isolated a yellow oxide, which, after careful investigation, he found to be the oxide of a new metal, to which he gave the name of uranium in honor of the discovery by the great astronomer. It has since remained among the rare metals, commanding a market price of about $12,000 per ton. Two oxides of this metal, the sesquioxide and the protoxide, are much used, the former to impart a golden or greenish-yellow tint to glass, the latter in producing costly black porcelain. Uranium is also employed in photographic processes, but its rarity and consequent high price have hitherto limited its use in these fields, and in many others for which it is well adapted. Up to the present, it has been found only in isolated patches, principally in Cornwall, Saxony and Bohemia. The centenary of its discovery, however, has been marked by the finding of a continuous lode of an ore rich in uranium, at the Union mine, Cornwall. This find is unique, as the lode is the only known one in the world, and is a true fissure vein. The ore contains, on an average, 12 per cent. of the metal, the maximum being 30 per cent. in some parts of the vein. With platinum and copper, uranium forms two beautiful alloys. These alloys have the appearance of gold, and the former is capable of withstanding the action of acids. Uranium has a high electrical resistance, and is therefore of great utility in certain electrical instruments. It is thought that its greater application in these two later fields will be the result of the recent discovery.

MILFORD HAVEN.—For a long time the advisability of shortening the ocean trip from this country to England, by taking as starting-points the eastern extremity of Long Island and the nearest harbor on the British coast, has been under discussion. The first step in that direction has been taken by the erection of a magnificent system of docks at Milford Haven, Wales. This harbor is a magnificent expanse of land-locked water, which can be entered by any of the ocean steamers at any tide. The docks, which have been erected at a cost of $5,000,000, offer sufficient accommodation to a dozen great liners at once. The City of Rome made this port on October 24th, reducing the time of the ocean journey by half a day. At Milford Haven the annoyance of transfer to a tender is avoided by the vessel coming up to the docks. The passengers can step aboard a train which will carry them to London, a dis-

tance of 285 miles. Thus, this port is but 84 miles further from London than Liverpool is. In this way, steaming up St. George's Channel is avoided, as well as dangers from channel fogs and delays on the Mersey bar. It is calculated that if Fort Pond Bay, at the eastern extremity of Long Island, be taken as the starting-point on this side, that there would be a saving of twenty four hours in the time of the journey.

Cæruleum.—Chemists have more than once sought the nature of this beautiful blue pigment, which is found in the frescoes of Pompeii and in other monuments of the Roman period, and which is as bright to-day as when first applied. They acquired the knowledge that copper was present in it, but beyond this they seem not to have discovered anything definite. Prof. Fouque, of the College de France, has, however, succeeded not only in analyzing it, but also in devising a method of manufacturing it regularly in quantities. The compound is, according to Prof. Fouque's investigations, a quadruple silicate of copper and silica, which can be prepared with silica, oxide of copper and lime by raising them to a bright red heat, which is necessary to affect the combination. The heating of the mixture is an important part of the operation, as heating too much causes the blue color to disappear, and the result is a green glass. Cæruleum, as prepared by Prof. Fouque, is a stable pigment, which is neither a glass nor an enamel, but a crystalline substance. It appears a deep sky-blue when viewed from the surface, and pale rose when viewed edgeways. It is unaffected when boiled with sulphuric acid, or potash lye, or quicklime. Hydrogen sulphide does not affect it, and the ease with which it can be prepared with the means at our disposal, puts within our grasp a valuable pigment.

Book Notices.

CHRISTIAN UNITY AND THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE. By *Henry Forrester*, a Presbyter of the American Church. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1889.

The seeming and professed purpose of this book, as we infer it from the writer's own statements, is to help to open the way towards a union of the other Protestant sects with that of Protestant Episcopalianism. It aims at doing this by trying to prove that the Episcopate substantially amounts to nothing more than a convenient way of governing churches, that ordination by a bishop is a mere form conferring no real grace or spiritual power, or that, if it does, a mere declaration by the "American (Protestant-Episcopal) Church, that the ministers of other Protestant sects will be received and accepted as Christian ministers, and, without ordination and re ordination, will supply the absence of Episcopal ordination.

In this the writer shows himself to be a consistent Protestant Episcopalian. For if the imparting of Orders be not a Sacrament (and the thirty-nine articles of the "Protestant Episcopal church" deny that it is), then, at most, ordination is only a decent, becoming form, having, however, no material significance or force, and conferring no real grace or power.

The writer, therefore, might have saved himself a large amount of the time and labor and pains he evidently has expended in studying Bingham and the partisan, mistranslated, and garbled "American edition of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library," and his frequent references to Hefele's classical work, which he takes seeming great care not to quote nor to mention by chapter and page. He might have discarded one and all of those who, he says, along with "Fulton," are the four great authorities upon whom, "in fact, dependence has been placed, principally;" and instead of them have appealed to the thirty-nine articles of belief of the Protestant Episcopal Church. For they recognize only two sacraments—Baptism and the Eucharist, and Mr. Henry Forrester, as "a Presbyter of the American (Protestant Episcopal) Church, and, along with him, all other "presbyters" and bishops of that so-called "Church," are bound by those articles; that is, bound by them so far as in the exercise of their supreme private judgment they are bound by any articles of belief whatever.

Yet, though thus really consistent with Protestant Episcopalianism, we incline to think his notions will be very unacceptable to a very large and very influential minority (perhaps, indeed, a majority), a majority of the "bishops" and "presbyters" of the "Protestant Episcopal Church." For they do believe and insist upon what they call the "Historic Episcopate." The "Ritualists" or "Churchmen" certainly will strenuously oppose his notions. In fact, they would have no alternative, if such notions as his come to prevail in the Protestant Episcopalian sect, but to form another sect, or else seek admission into the Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Church. Indeed, this alternative already confronts them.

Mr. Forrester strenuously argues that Sacred Orders "are not indelible," and in proof quotes or misquotes St. Cyprian's letters in his controversy with the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church. Why he should

take all this trouble when, according to the Thirty-nine Articles, the imparting of Sacred Orders is *not a sacrament*, passes comprehension.

Again, Mr. Forrester labors strenuously to prove (what it seems to us every intelligent person, Christian or infidel, will regard as absurd) that no distinction exists or can be made between an illicit act and one that is invalid. He, evidently, is ignorant of the fact that it is a distinction that is and always has been recognized in every code of civil law that has ever been framed. He seems not to know that this very distinction is recognized in Divine Revelation, both under the Old and in the New Testament.

Mr. Forrester describes very clearly the evils of division among Protestant sects, the "fearful waste of power and means," and how, for this and like reasons, "these divisions among professed Christians are not only disastrous, but wicked." Yet he seems to have no sense of the inherent *sin* of *schism*. To him it is only an unfortunate, unhappy condition, deplorable on account of the inconveniences that attend it. We commend him to a careful, serious reading of the New Testament on this subject.

Mr. Forrester speaks respectfully of sacred tradition and the "Church Fathers," but what his real notion of these is may be inferred from the following quotations:

"Thomas Aquinas was doubtless a great scholar, and his work (the *Summa*) is very valuable; but, considering the time in which he lived and the circumstances that surrounded him, he certainly cannot be esteemed a safe guide for us."

How many chapters of St. Thomas has Mr. Forrester ever attempted to read? How many, or rather how few, has he understood? Has he ever read intelligently one question in his *Summa?* We doubt that he has thus read even one.

Mr. Forrester thus continues: "Why should we be content with a writer of the thirteenth century as our ultimate guide and instructor in theology, when we can have all the writers of the ante-Nicene period to show us what was taught and practised in the earliest ages of Christianity?"

It is needless for us to point out how profoundly ignorant the writer unconsciously proves himself by these remarks on "all the writers of the ante-Nicene period," and on the subjects with which they were immediately concerned.

For St. Augustine Mr. Forrester has as little respect as for St. Thomas, as the following quotation will show: "The genius of Augustine, the renowned Bishop of Hippo, has exercised a most powerful influence on the western Church, and to him we are indebted for these [the "indelibility" of Orders and the distinction between invalid acts and acts that are uncanonical and irregular, but still are valid] and some other things for which we do *not need to be thankful. The ante-Nicene Church knew nothing of them.*"

In fact the writer seems to imagine that he is able, in the exercise of his own personal judgment, and by the study of a few documents about the authenticity or the correct reading of which there are differences of opinion, to judge more correctly of the belief and practice of the ante-Nicene Fathers, though separated from them by fifteen hundred years, than were their immediate successors.

The only consistent outcome of his argument would be, if stripped of its inconsistencies, that neither a "historic episcopate nor an ordained ministry is needed to carry on the work of the Church, and that the Church can dispense with them or with anything else, having

"plenary authority and power to do whatever seems to her wise and expedient."

Mr. Forrester has professedly composed his book in the interest of Christian unity. But what its real spirit is may be inferred from the fact that "the unification of all the non-Roman Christians of this country would be the most important possible work that could now be done for the nation, as it would also be the most effective means of *counteracting Romish influences* and perhaps of detaching from *their foreign allegiance* those of our citizens now under *Papal domination*, and attaching them to "the National Church."

Passing over, as unworthy of notice, the writer's insulting references to Catholics and the Catholic Church, the quotations we have given plainly show that his predominant thought is *not* "*Christian Unity*," but a "National Church." Were there any doubt about this, the manner in which he speaks of the Protestant Episcopalian "Church of England" would remove the uncertainty. "The one evil to be feared in our close connection with the English Church is that, from a sentimental regard to the brilliant and majestic mother Church, we shall be led to yield more of our rightful liberty than we ought."

Constitutional History of the United States From Their Declaration of Independence to the Close of their Civil War. By *George Ticknor Curtis*. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper Brothers. 1889.

It is perhaps of the nature of things that in a country like ours, where the distinction of political parties depends on the interpretation given to a written fundamental law, a commentator's interpretation of that law should be tainted with his political views or even prejudices. Therefore it is that we have no work on the Constitution by an American, or even a foreigner for that matter, whose conclusions are accepted by all our citizens. For instance, even though the work before us be at least as free from preconceived notions as any of them, yet a unifying meaning is given to the opening words of the Preamble, "We the people," which is objected to by nearly all the advocates of home rule for each State. But as the drawing of such conclusions is almost inevitable, this point cannot tell very much against a work that seems to us to be almost entirely impartial in every other respect.

The volume under consideration is an old work in a new form; but it is none the worse for that, as it is no weak argument in favor of its merits that, after having stood a thirty years' test, no radical change has been found necessary, the only respects in which this edition differs from the first being the title and a few additions in the text, and the compressing of the matter of two volumes into one. We have here, therefore, a revised reprint of the "History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, with Notices of its Principal Framers." The story begins really with the meeting of the First Continental Congress in 1774, and ends "with the adoption of the Constitution by two more than the number of States requisite to give it operation," with an additional statement of the position of the two States, Rhode Island and North Carolina, that until some time afterwards withheld their assent. An intention which the author had originally of following down the constitutional history of the United States through the adoption of the various amendments, is now to be carried out, in a modified form, in a second volume which is announced as finished and about to appear. In this are contained the judicial interpretations given to the Constitution itself and its fifteen Amendments.

"The reasons," says our author, "why the first constructions and applications of the Constitution are of superior importance is because those who first had to administer the new government belonged to the generation which framed and established it, and especially because many of them were actively engaged in framing and establishing, or in opposing and amending it. I have endeavored to keep distinct what occurred before the Civil War and what happened afterwards, so as to explain the trying period when further amendments were made necessary, or were believed to be so. I have included in this later exposition those judicial constructions only which have related to the amendments, the history of which has been described, and a few of those which grew out of the Civil War, or the measures that were adopted in its prosecution."

These remarks refer, of course, more particularly to the second volume, which will necessarily be a complement to the one before us, and which begins with the story of the Union's origin, continues that story through the critical period of the War of Independence, and closes it with an account of the even more critical period of the decline of the Confederation and the adoption and putting into effect of the Constitution under which we now live. Even for the unprofessional man it is a most interesting and instructive story, making Mr. Bancroft's two big volumes on the same subject dreary in comparison. It is a proud boast, too, Mr. Curtis is able to make in his preface: "If the historical accuracy of my former work has ever been called in question I have not been aware of it. Nor have I met with anything in the writings of other authors who have since treated the same subject which has led me to doubt the correctness of my statements or the soundness of my interpretations."

That the reader may form an idea of the fundamental character of the work, we submit the author's view of the distinction between constitutional history and constitutional law: "As I use these terms," he says, "I include in constitutional history those events and that public action which have shaped the text of a written Constitution, or which should be regarded in its interpretation. Constitutional law is that body of jurisprudence which includes the text of the Constitution and the constructions which it has received from those whose public duty it has been from time to time to interpret its meaning and application."

The text of the Constitution which Mr. Curtis gives among the various documents printed in the Appendix is peculiar from the quaint style of its typography. He took the pains to compare it with the rolls in the Department of State, in exact conformity with which it is punctuated and otherwise printed. In the same part of the volume are also contained the first draft of the instrument as reported by the Committee of Detail, the Articles of Confederation that the Constitution superseded, and several other important documents bearing on the same subject.

The more intricate subject of judicial interpretation will be spoken of when the second volume is examined.

OUR CHRISTIAN HERITAGE. By *James Cardinal Gibbons*, Archbishop of Baltimore, Author of "The Faith of Our Fathers." Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. London: R. Washburne. 1889.

This volume may be regarded as a contribution from His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, to the centenary celebration of the creation of the hierarchy of the Church in the United States, as its graceful inscription intimates. It is a most opportune contribution. For the real questions with which thoughtful, earnest minds in our country, and, we may say, the civilized world over, must now grapple are the questions treated and answered in this work—the existence of God, His omnipresence,

and omnipotence. His all-wise and ever-continuing providence, the creation of the world, the conscience, free-will, and moral responsibility of man, the efficacy of prayer, the divinity of Christ, His divine mission, Christianity and the Church, their relation to human science, morals and civilization, and kindred subjects.

These are the real questions which the Church has now, in the exercise of its mission, to teach us how to explain and enforce to the people of the United States. Though the Protestant sects are still existent and maintain their respective divisional organizations, the heretical notions they once laid stress upon are fast running themselves out to their legitimate consequences in the forms of denial, of general skepticism respecting the existence of the divinely revealed doctrines of Christianity as objectively existing truths, respecting conscience as an objective reality, the personal existence of God and the possibility of knowing Him, respecting the divinity of Christ our Blessed Redeemer, and the reality, universality and perpetuity of His mission.

Cardinal Gibbons, therefore, has very judiciously chosen these subjects for treatment. And very judiciously, too, he treats them on ground which is common to every Christian denomination.

The work, as Cardinal Gibbons states in his introductory chapter, is not polemical. It is not so even in its treatment of the errors of those who not only have no belief in Christianity or indeed in any religion. It aims at accomplishing its purpose by the plain, positive statement of truths which, when understood and received, will dispel doubt and make skepticism impossible. "It is addressed," says the writer, "to a large and increasing class of persons who, through association, the absence of Christian training, a distorted education, and pernicious reading, have not only become estranged from the specific teachings of the Gospel, but whose moral and religious nature has received such a shock that they have only a vague and undefined faith even in the truths of natural religion underlying Christianity."

But the work is not only serviceable to those who, unhappily, are without belief in Christianity or are troubled with doubts and uncertainties respecting it. It will also be highly useful to Christian believers, in furnishing them with a reason for the hope that is in them, and supplying them with arguments to refute the sophisms of "free-thinkers," and enlighten sincere inquirers after truth. To Catholics, too, many of its chapters will be especially useful, in instructing them how to answer false notions and assertions respecting the Catholic religion, its relation to science and education, to civil government, to society, and all the manifold interests that are included in the term civilization.

The work embodies the ripe fruit of extensive reading and research, as its numerous apt quotations from ancient pagan sages and poets, and from later Catholic, non-Catholic, and skeptical and infidel writers abundantly prove; though the ripe fruit of careful, painstaking study and reflection, yet it is not even in the slightest degree abstruse or technical. Though it treats of most momentous and profound subjects, it treats of them so directly and simply, and illustrates them so lucidly, that even the uneducated mind is able to follow the writer. This greatly enchances the value of the work. Its charming simplicity of method and of style makes it interesting to the unlearned reader, while at the same time it is a useful manual of reference for scholars and teachers.

PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. Some Social Studies. By *Joseph Henry Crooker*. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1889.

It would be difficult to imagine a more glaring inconsistency of practice with profession than the Catholic reader will discover in at least two

of the six "studies" contained in this little work. In the first, on "The Student in American Life," we read that "he (the ideal student) is one whose main exercise is the use of his intellect in the pursuit of truth," that "the true student lives to discover truth," and many other expressions to the same effect. Upon reading the fifth study, on "Moral and Religious Instruction in Our Public Schools," we at once come to the conclusion that Mr. Crooker is a typical Boston bigot, even though he dates his preface from Madison, Wis. Into these forty-four short pages he has gathered more false statements in regard to the Catholic position on the school question than we remember ever seeing elsewhere in the same space. Now, the person making assertions derogatory to the character of others, without being able to support them with evidence that would convince a jury, is simply a calumniator. Were each such offense punishable with a month's imprisonment, we fear that Mr. Crooker would, on account of this chapter alone, spend the remainder of his days "behind the bars." Here is a sample: "The Roman Catholic argument against secular schools is, in its essential nature and by logical implication, an argument against the Secular State. The Catholic demand, if allowed, would compel our government to go to Rome for orders respecting everything, or surrender not only its essential functions of education, but its very existence as an independent institution. . . . Their objections brought against the secular schools are equally applicable to the nation itself; and this Papal hierarchy will not be satisfied until it has destroyed the Secular State. If the Catholics succeed in closing the public schools, they will restate and reapply their old argument thus: We object to paying taxes to support a godless State. . . . Rome temporarily accepts the inevitable, but never compromises. The real question at the bottom of all this agitation is, Shall we maintain our Secular State, or go back to the Dark Ages?" And more to surfeiting from this professed pursuer and discoverer of truth! Evidently he has not pursued, much less caught, even a single pamphlet of the vast Catholic literature on the subject. And a professedly religious man, too, advocating for the State the control of even every minutest detail of education! It were as reasonable to imagine a government of tailors thus furnishing us with our apparel, or of provision dealers with our food, according as their whims or self-interest might prompt them. In reality, the duty of the State ends with seeing that the children receive a proper education, and should say of what nature this may be only when parents fail to do their duty, if even then. If the State is to have everything to do with education, why does it not impart to Mr. Crooker some accurate information about Catholics and their beliefs and motives?

Another of his "studies," the second, on "Scientific Charity," Catholics have reason to find fault with, as he has not a word to say of all that their Church has done during centuries past for the relief of human suffering, and it has certainly done more of this kind of work than all the rest of the world together. But maybe her charity is not "scientific"; so much the worse, then, for so-called organized charity, for only in the Catholic Church is poverty, especially when due to no fault of the sufferer, not considered a crime. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul alone does more good than all the almshouses and organized charity societies in the world. And Catholics thus working quietly give their aid for the good it may do the poor sufferers, and not on account of the merit, reputation or vain-glory it may bring themselves, notwithstanding Mr. Crooker's slurring allusion to "mediæval Christianity."

If he should give his attention to another series of social studies, it

would be well for him to include, and give a large space to, an honest investigation of the Catholic Church; otherwise we will be forced to the conclusion that he has abandoned the pursuit of truth.

LES AVEUGLES. PAR UN AVEUGLE (Maurice de la Sizeranne). Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1889. Pp. xiii.–174.

This study of the blind, by a blind man, is most entertaining and instructive. M. le Comte d'Haussonville, who writes the preface to M. de la Sizeranne's little volume, justly says that it is something more than a good book. It is a good book and a good deed. The writer's object is to help those who are not blind to see blind men as they are, physically, intellectually, and morally. There are two millions of blind men and women in the world—two million daily appeals to the intelligence, humanity, charity of those who have eyes, minds, and hearts.

Maurice de la Sizeranne, the son of an artist, lost his sight when nine years of age. Left in comfortable circumstances, he has devoted his time and means to the service of his blind fellow-men. He is director of the *Paris Journal* for the blind, as well as of the library for the blind. He publishes, and distributes gratuitously, a manual for the education of blind children. His "*Les Aveugles Utiles*," which gives many interesting details concerning the methods of teaching adopted in the Paris institution for the blind, has reached a fifth edition.

M. de la Sizeranne is a practical man. The aim of *Les Aveugles Par Un Aveugle* is wholly practical. And yet the writer has the soul of a poet. A keen observer, a thinker, a lover of beauty in nature and art, a man of taste and a student, M. de la Sizeranne has the gift of a simple, clear, lively style. Many of the pages of his little book are so full of charm that we are not surprised to learn that the French academy has stamped it with the seal of its approbation.

Fifty pages of the work are given up to the story of the life of Valentin Haüy, the apostle of the blind. It is a sad story of devotion to a great idea, of trial, disappointment, neglect, misfortune, wrong-headedness and right-heartedness. M. de la Sizeranne not only sketches a biography, but, at the same time, pictures a curious side of the French revolution. Those who see are indebted to Haüy, quite as much as are the blind whose particular servant he was. It takes many men to civilize mankind. The weaver's son helped us on our way.

How the blind man is taught, how he is made a workman, a musician, a teacher, M. de la Sizeranne tells in few words. He takes the reader into the blind man's home, where, with wife and children, he suffers and enjoys as other men do. Studying the blind man, with a special knowledge of his wants and his nature, M. de la Sizeranne points out the defects in the present systems of education, explains the blind man's capabilities, shows the many kinds of work he is fitted for. To educate a blind man is to do him a service—or an injury. He must work in order to live. Why not allow him to do that for which he is best fitted? There are educated blind men who can serve themselves and society in other ways than the making of mats, or the hawking of brooms. Less pity, more work—such is the blind man's appeal.

The appeal is telling. Men with eyes, and intelligence above, or behind, these deceiving organs, will certainly listen to M. de la Sizeranne. Were there no other proof, his book would prove that the intellectual powers of the blind are none the less because their eyes are sightless. There are few seeing men that will not see more clearly after reading this interesting volume; and there is no reader who will not hope so clever a writer may be encouraged to add still other volumes to a library for those who think they are not blind.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE. A Sketch of the Diplomatic and Military History of Continental Europe, from the Rise of Napoleon III. to the Fall of the Second French Empire. By *Harold Murdock*. With an Introduction by John Fiske. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1889.

The purpose of this work is to describe the international changes which have taken place in Europe during the latter half of the current century. The author commences with a succinct review of the situation in 1850; he then sketches the *coup d' état* of Louis Napoleon, and briefly refers to its influence upon European governments and peoples outside of France. He then shows the purpose of this work is to depict the international changes which took place in Europe between 1850 and 1871, and the manner in which they were brought about. The writer first succinctly reviews the situation at the close of the first half of the present century. He then devotes a chapter to the successive steps by which Louis Napoleon overthrew the French republic and constituted himself "Emperor of the French," and the effects of his *coup d' état* upon European countries outside of France. He then shows how the revival of the "Eastern Question," through the rival claims of France and Russia to a protectorate of the Holy Places in Palestine, brought on the war between Russia and Turkey, assisted by France, England and Sardinia. The military movements of this war are described in detail in four successive chapters. In several successive chapters the author then sketches the political state of Italy, its divisions, governments, secret societies, etc.; the rise of Cavour; his influence over Louis Napoleon; the war between Austria and Sardinia, aided by France; the career of Garibaldi and the relations between him and Cavour and Victor Emmanuel.

Then turning back, the author reviews the political situation in Germany, and particularly in Prussia, in 1850, the advent of Bismarck, his earlier political ideas, the reorganization of the Prussian army, the Schleswig-Holstein war, the war between Prussia and Austria, its military movements and political results.

The writer then returns to France, points out how Napoleon's dreams and plans were bitterly disappointed by the defeat of Austria and the ascendency of Prussia; the manner in which he was cajoled and deceived by Bismarck, and the Franco-German war was brought about. The concluding chapters of the work are occupied with detailed accounts of the military movements of this war, its battles, the surrender of Louis Napoleon, the siege and occupation of Paris by the German troops, the treaty of peace and its consequences.

As a succinct history of diplomatic movements the work is interesting, but it fails to give any idea of the effects of the changes described upon the social, political, industrial and moral condition of Europe. In every instance, too, in which the writer refers to the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church, his position in Italy, and his relation to other European countries, he displays intense prejudice.

A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY FOUNDED ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES, MAINLY ON THE MATERIALS COLLECTED BY THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Edited by *James A. H. Murry, B.A.* Lond., *Hon. M A.* Oxon, *LL.D.* Edin., etc., some time President of the Philological Society, with the Assistance of many Scholars and Men of Science. Part V., Cost-Clivy. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

Part V. of this truly erudite work has come to hand. It comprises, as set forth in its title-page, the words of the English language between *Cost* and Clivy, containing 5966 "Main words," 1031 "Combina-

tions" with separate explanations, 1374 "Subordinate entries," making a total of 8371. Of the Main words 1142 ($19\frac{1}{7}$ per cent.) are marked + as obsolete, and 277 ($4\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.) are marked ‖ as alien or imperfectly naturalized. The section, extending, as it does, from "COST" to the end of "CLI-," thus includes the whole of CH-, which, in many respects, ranks almost as a separate letter, and actually contains more words than J, K or Q, and more than twice as many as X, Y, and Z put together. Its numbers are 2720 "Main words" (494 being obsolete, and 142 alien), 587 explained "Combinations," and 717 "Subordinate entries." Total, 4024.

Within the limits thus mentioned of Part V. are found a large number of interesting and important words, of many of which the history is now, for the first time, fully exhibited. There is a still greater number of which new etymological facts or details are given. Among them are many words worthy of especial mention for their sense, development or history, about which fresh facts are presented.

A most interesting feature of the part before us is the fact that it contains so many of the great words of the Christian Church. Thus we have the group of CHRIST, CHRISTIAN, *christen*, *chrism*, and their kindred words, making 19 columns; Catholic, church with numerous compounds, making 20 columns; CHAPEL, cathedral, CITY, clergy, clerk, and their allies, making 10 columns; also CHAPTER, besides *chancel*, *choir*, *chantry*, *clerestory*, *catacomb*, *chalice*, *chasuble*, *ciborium*, *ceremony*, *celebrate*, celibate, *chorister*, *catechism*, etc., *charity* and *cherub*, with their interesting forms or histories. The etymological history of *church* is dealt with very fully, after, as the preface informs us, "a fresh investigation of all the known facts," and also in the light of recent advance in knowledge of the phonology and mutual relations of the old Teutonic languages.

The distinguished editor-in-chief is assisted in his labors by a very large number of sub-editors, of extensive attainments in special lines of study having an important relation to the work, and who are industriously laboring to make the undertaking as full, thorough, accurate, and complete as varied scholarly learning, exhaustive critical examination, and research can accomplish.

THE DARK AGES: ESSAYS ILLUSTRATING THE STATE of RELIGION AND LITERATURE IN THE NINTH, TENTH, ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES. By *S. R. Maitland, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.*, some time Librarian and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth. New edition. With an Introduction by *Frederick Stokes, M.A.* London: John Hodges, 1889. For sale by the Catholic Publication Society Co., New York.

It was in 1853 that the next preceding edition, the third, of this work was published, and it is not from it that the title given above is copied, there being three slight variations. We have never seen a copy of either of the two other editions, so that there is no opportunity of comparison with them. The first was given to the world in 1843. Nor was the work entirely new then; for a large portion of it had appeared in instalments in an Anglican periodical between the years 1835 and 1838.

The re-publication at this late day, and under Catholic auspices, of Dr. Maitland's great work is remarkable for more than one reason: It was called forth originally by an honest non-Catholic's indignation against the lying thing called history as written by Protestants until that time; it was originally regarded by its author only as a passing contribution to an ephemeral controversy; and its author lived and died an Anglican. Yet it contains but few passages that any Catholic can take

exception to, and its being re-issued at this late day is proof that those in authority to judge have ranked it among the classics of historical literature.

Deep regret cannot but be felt that the editor of this latest edition has failed, in his able introductory essay, to give some account of the author. While tersely portraying the character of the Middle Ages he incidentally states the object that Dr. Maitland seemed to have in view, which he says was "critical rather than constructive; for Maitland was one of those in whom the critical faculty existed in its highest perfection, and his ecclesiastical position enabled him to deal impartially with both sides of his subject." The close study of Maitland's pages leads Mr. Stokes to the conclusion, in which most fair-minded men will agree with him, that, "on the whole, one is tempted to believe that the Dark Ages were not so very dark, nor our own times so very full of light, as some of the authors criticized by Maitland would have us believe. Men lived simpler and rougher lives, but it does not follow that they led less happy ones. It is doubtful whether the influences of the nineteenth century do not tend to degrade men rather than to elevate them. 'The individual writers and the State is more and more.' There is scant opportunity for prayer and repose in the restless, commonplace age in which we live. The whole atmosphere of the times is fatal to that spirit of faith which is the motive power of all real progress." The reading of Maitland's pages will greatly aid in convincing us of the accuracy of this conclusion.

JUSTICE AND JURISPRUDENCE. An Inquiry concerning the Constitutional Limitations of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1889.

A book of such high pretensions as this, and on so important a subject, should not appear anonymously; and besides, the literary style is good enough for the author not to be ashamed of it. Again, that the source of an attempt to overrule the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States is allowed to remain unknown, also detracts from the validity of the conclusion arrived at. We do not believe, indeed, that the work will render any real, positive service to those in whose behalf it has been professedly prepared, namely, our fellow-citizens of African descent.

It is issued, apparently, as a protest against the judicial decision declaring unconstitutional the Civil Rights Bill that was intended to amplify the provisions of the last three amendments to the Constitution, and responsibility for its authorship is assumed by the Brotherhood of Liberty, who dedicate it to everybody and everything in authority in this country, "in the sincere hope that it may, in some measure, aid them in the fulfilment of their noble mission." Now we remember that many of the most thoughtful and influential among the colored people all over the country were glad of the Supreme Court's action, because the said Bill was overdoing the matter of asserting rights that were denied by but few and in few localities, and because it would have a restraining, instead of a developing, effect on the manly and civic character of those to whom it was specially intended to apply. In this regard, indeed, the digest of legislative and judicial proceedings, both national and State, given as an appendix to the work, goes a great way toward refuting the argument of the text. We presume also that the preface and the main work were not written by the same hand, for the latter is unstintedly praised in the former. At any rate, there must be a little mutual admiration society within the Brotherhood of Liberty.

All these reserves made, however, we cannot but express admiration for the work as a whole. It is a very valuable addition to our historical literature, and throws a flood of light on the position of the colored element of our population.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. In two parts. By *Rev. John McDevitt, D.D.* New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1889.

A great boon has been bestowed on beginners in the study of sacred lore by the "Professor of the Introduction to Scripture, Ecclesiastical History, etc., in All Hallows Foreign Missionary College, Dublin." The work is written in clear, simple, and direct style, thus calculated to attract even the indifferent. The two parts are a general introduction dealing with the character and bearing of the Sacred Scriptures, which fills about two-thirds of the volume, and then a series of special introductions to the various books of the Old and New Testament. In the first part are discussed the originals of Scriptures, the versions of both Testaments, the relation of the Catholic Church and anti-Catholic systems to the Bible, the genuineness, integrity, and credibility of the sacred writings, Biblical inspiration, the canon and interpretation of the Scriptures, the authority of the Latin vulgate and the reading of the Bible in the vernacular, and the relation of natural science to the Book of Genesis. A grouping system is followed in the second part or special introduction, all the books of the Pentateuch being dealt with in one chapter, and in each of the others as indicated the historical books of the Old Testament, then the moral books and the prophets; and as regards the New Testament, first, the four Gospels, the Acts and the Apocalypse; second, the Epistles of St. Paul, and last, the seven Catholic Epistles.

Brevity as well as lucidity is a characteristic of this treatise that should not be overlooked, the book containing considerably less than three hundred pages. We will be pardoned for repeating the author's hope that "this little book will help to foster tender associations in the many loving and generous hearts who pass year after year out of these [All Hallows College] halls, away from home, to the holy work of keeping the faith active among the sons and daughters of Ireland in foreign countries."

Among those on whose notes the author has drawn in the compilation of this work is his deeply lamented brother, the late bishop of Raphoe.

UNKNOWN SWITZERLAND. By *Victor Tissot.* Translated from the Twelfth Edition, by *Mrs. Wilson.* New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

If there were only one Mrs. Wilson dabbling in literature at second-hand, perhaps this title would be sufficiently explicit. But whoever she may be, she has done her work fairly well, except as to local nomenclature, in which she has kept too close to the French original. Mr. Tissot has long been known as an entertaining note taker, if not a profound observer; and as a historian he is decidedly shallow, taking *ex parte* views at second-hand with the most innocent good faith. Indeed, we often suspect him of being prejudiced himself; and he is therefore an unsafe guide for the uninitiated. This is true also of many of his works, if not of this one, from a moral point of view, for he often tells things that it is not safe for the young to read or think about.

While most frequently dealing in commonplaces, yet he sometimes

gives us glimpses into new phases of life and scenery; and though when lapsing into historical reminiscences he invariably draws his information from Protestant authors, yet he enables us to get glimpses of truth that show the chicanery by which the "Reformation" was imposed upon so many of the Swiss Cantons: the result was due in every case either to political complications or to the vicious system of having the people elect their own pastors. Through the former agency Protestantism was established at Geneva and Berne, and by means of the latter the immoral Zwingli gained sway at Zurich, and the unfrocked Peter Paul Verginio in the Engadine. In most other sections of the Grison leagues it was politics also that brought about a change of religion, France lending a hand abroad while suppressing the heresy at home. Mr. Tissot's accounts of cruelties perpetrated in the religious wars of Switzerland are to be taken with a great deal of allowance.

A Century of Revolution. By *William Samuel Lilly*. London: Chapman & Hall. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1889.

What would otherwise have been a very good book is, to some extent, spoiled by the introduction of the extraneous subjects of Darwinism and Home Rule, and his position will generally be regarded as the wrong one on both points; for evolution is still only an unproved theory, and the justice of Ireland's demand for autonomy cannot be gainsaid. Indeed, he thus places himself in a paradoxical position, for the Liberal-Unionists can be considered political evolutionists only in the negative and retrogressive sense.

But, as an exposition of the "principles of '89" and of their philosophical development, the work is a masterly summary of the last century of European history. The author tests the ideas underlying the French Revolution by the moral laws of nature and of nations, and begins by laying down the principles necessary for understanding it aright. He discusses its relations to liberty, which it has made a mockery; to religion, which it has endeavored and is still endeavoring to destroy; to science, which, consisting mainly of unproved theories, it would set up in the place of religion; to art, which it depraves with shameless sensualism; and to democracy, which is even a more galling, oppressive and insolent tyranny than that which it has supplanted. To the propagation of revolutionary principles in England the author devotes his closing chapter, and here he sets forth views with which most of his readers, outside of England, and perhaps in that country itself, will not agree. A brilliant literary style adds to the attractiveness and interest of a volume that is well worth careful study.

Herndon's Lincoln. The True Story of a Great Life. The History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln. By *William H. Herndon* and *Jesse William Weik, A.M.* In three volumes. Chicago, New York and San Francisco: Belford, Clarke & Co.

It is well that the present generation of Americans should know Lincoln as a man, both in public and private life; for thus portrayed there is a great deal in his character and services to his country for every American to admire. But, unfortunately, most of his biographers have represented him in an exaggerated fashion that would make of him a being almost impossible in American life. On the other hand, possibly, many will object that Mr. Herndon has made him too human; but no one had an opportunity of knowing the martyr-President better than he who was his law partner and friend for twenty years; and the present writer has been wise enough, too, to allow ample time for the seasoning

of his opinions before giving them to the public. We have no reason to believe otherwise than that the story told by Messrs. Herndon and Weik is a truthful and impartial one; if it errs in any respect it is in being too full in some comparatively uninteresting and, as far as the public is concerned, valueless particulars, for there are some things, even from the secular point of view, that had better remain unsaid. This stricture refers not only to a large portion of the text in the first volume, but also to some things in the Appendix in the third, wherefrom, however, some valuable information may be gathered, such as Lincoln's relation to the Know-Nothing movement and his liberal views on the right of suffrage.

SERMONS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND CHIEF FESTIVALS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR. With two Courses of Lenten Sermons and a Triduum for the Forty Hours. By *Rev. Julius Pottgeiser, S.J.* Rendered from the German by *Rev. James Conway, S.J.* Vol. I. Sermons for Sundays. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

Though there be no scarcity of systematic series of sermons for Sundays and festivals, or in explanation of particular subjects, yet there is always room for another set by a master of the science and art of sacred oratory. Each compilation that finds favor with the clergy must have its own peculiar merits. Most of those that have hitherto been accessible to English readers have been derived from the French. If only for variety, this present series, therefore, ought to be welcomed; but irrespective of this, it has high merits of its own, merits that place it above many of the better-known compilations. Father Pottgeiser's name has long been known among his own countrymen, both at home and abroad, and he has justly been regarded as one of the first preachers and lecturers of his day. Strange as it may seem, it is to the infirmities of his old age that we owe the volumes of which the first is now published in English form. Yet he has not been a stranger to the English-speaking priesthood of this country, for he was long famous for the retreats that he gave to the clergy here. The present volume contains sermons for the Sundays of the ecclesiastical year, which, though addressed in the first place to the clergy, cannot but afford useful and edifying reading and rich spiritual nutriment also to the laity.

GOOD THINGS FOR CATHOLIC READERS. A Miscellany of Catholic Biography, Travels, etc. Containing Portraits and Sketches of Eminent Persons, and Engravings Representing the Church and Cloister, the State and Home, Remarkable Places Connected with Religion, and Famous Events in all Lands and Times. Profusely Illustrated. Second Series. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

The title of this work, which we have given at length, well and truthfully describes the character of the contents. The articles are of a popular character, suited to interest and attract the young, yet well suited also to interest persons of mature age, while there is much that will be of value to the scholar and student, and particularly the student of the history of the Church in America. The biographical sketches contain a vast array of facts and important information. Nor is this confined to subjects concerning our own country alone. Famous persons, events, and places in other lands are depicted. Sketches of the lives of Catholic saints, prelates, priests, statesmen, warriors, scholars, writers, and artists, of different ages and countries, are also numerously given. The skill of highly competent engravers has been freely employed in producing the accurate and beautiful illustrations, with which the volume abounds, of holy and renowned persons, churches, shrines and other famous places.

A HISTORY OF THE SEVEN HOLY FOUNDERS OF THE ORDER OF THE SERVANTS OF MARY. By *Father Sostene M. Ledoux*, of the same Order. Translated from the French. London: Burns & Oates. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

How many people know the names of the "Seven Holy Founders" whose history is here told, and told in very attractive style, too? They should be better known, as they did a noble work in their day and generation, a work that has had its influence on every succeeding age. "Born when the mediæval period was about to attain its apogee," we will enumerate them in the order in which they came into the world, between the years 1196 and 1206: Bonfilius Monaldi, Alexis Falconieri, Benedict dell' Antella, Bartolomeo Amidei, Ricovero Uguccioni, Gherardino Sostegni and Giovanni Manetti. Not only is their history fully told here, but also that of their order is more than sketched; and the book closes with an account of their canonization by the sovereign Pontiff now gloriously reigning.

A HISTORY OF FRANCE. By *Victor Duruy*, Member of the French Academy. Abridged and Translated from the seventeenth French edition by *Mrs. M. Carey*. With an Introductory Notice and a continuation to the year 1889, by *J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

It is a pity that M. Duruy ever accepted office under Napoleon III., for the later editions of his two-volume *History of France* are on that account tainted with Napoleonic ideas, in the closing portion of the work, of course. The translator and abridger might have eliminated this fault, but she has not done so. Another fault, and a very serious one, is that in the reproduction of the maps the French nomenclature is preserved. Prof. Jameson has furnished a very good biographical sketch of the author, who died but very recently, but he has not been so successful in the continuation of the history. He makes scant allusion to the persecution of the Church under the Third Republic.

LIFE OF BLESSED MARGARET MARY ALACOQUE, OF THE SACRED HEART. By *Rev. Albert Barry, C.SS.R.* London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: Gile & Co. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

"Devotion to the Sacred Heart always existed in the Church, and there were saints who lived long before Blessed Margaret Mary of whom it was a noted characteristic. It was, however, reserved for the seventeenth century to spread it abroad among the faithful." To show how this agency was carried out by the nun of Paray-le-Monial was one of the chief objects the writer of this book had in view. It is therefore a devotional work as well as a biography, and in both respects it is an admirable production, its interest being enhanced, too, by a fine literary style. A few pages at the end of the book are devoted to prayers to the Sacred Heart composed by Blessed Margaret Mary.

THE PERFECTION OF MAN BY CHARITY. A SPIRITUAL TREATISE. By *W. H. Reginald Buckler, O.P.* London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

Among spiritual treatises this one deserves to take high rank. Though written mainly for religious persons, people living in the world will find it of great use to them occasionally. It is a summing up of the science of religon "as contained in the inspired Word, proposed by our Divine Master, and handed down from the early ages of Christianity, through the Fathers of the Desert and the Church, the Doctors of the

Middle Ages, and the Saints and Spiritual writers of later date, to our own times." The work is sub-divided into two books, the first on the study of perfection, in eight chapters, and the second on the life of charity, in ten chapters.

MUSA ECCLESIASTICA; THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By *Thomas A'Kempis.* Now for the First Time set forth in Rhythmic Sentences, according to the Original Intention of the Author. With a Preface by *H. P. Liddon, D.D., D.C.L.* New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1889.

The rendering of Thomas A'Kempis's incomparable work into English verse is certainly a desideratum, and even if the translator of the volume before us has not been entirely successful, his effort is, nevertheless, worthy of commendation. His version is an admirable specimen of simple, strong, unadulterated English, and, unlike other non-Catholic translators, he has not toned down or omitted parts of the work in order to suit Protestant notions, but has evidently endeavored to faithfully give the meaning of the original text.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

NATURE AND CULTURE. By *Harvey Rice.* Boston: Lea & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham.

ASTRONOMY, NEW AND OLD. By *Rev. Martin S. Brennan, A.M.* New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1889.

DIARY OF THE PARNELL COMMISSION. Revised from "The Daily News." By *John Macdonald, M.A.* London: J. Fisher Unwin. 1890. For sale by The Catholic Publication Society Co., New York.

THE WAY: THE NATURE AND MEANS OF REVELATION. By *John F. Weir, M.A.,* Dean of the Department of Fine Arts in Yale University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889.

SUPERNATURAL REVELATION: AN ESSAY CONCERNING THE BASIS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. By *C. M. Mead, Ph.D., D.D.,* lately Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

TWO SPIRITUAL RETREATS FOR SISTERS. By the *Rev. W. Zollner.* Translated and adapted, with the permission of the author, by *Rev. Augustine Wirth, O.S.B.* Second Revised Edition. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1889.

PRAYER. By the author of "Golden Sands." Offered to novices and pious people of the world. (Taken from the "Book of the Professed.") Translated from the French by *Miss Ella McMahon.* New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1889.

THE POOR SISTERS OF NAZARETH. An Illustrated Record of Life at Nazareth House, Hammersmith. Drawn by George Lambert. Written by *Alice Meynell.* Published by Burns & Oates, London. For sale by The Catholic Publication Society Co., New York.

MEDITATIONES DE PRÆCIPUIS FIDEI NOSTRÆ MYSTERIIS *Ven. P. Ludovici de Ponte, S.J.,* de Hispanico in Latinum translatæ a *Melchiore Trevinnio, S.J.* De novo editæ cura Augustini Lehmkuhl, S. J. Two vols. Freiburg in Breisgau and St. Louis, U. S. A.: B. Herder. 1889.

HUNOLT'S SERMONS. Vols. V and VI. The Penitent Christian; or, Sermons on the Virtue and Sacrament of Penance, and on everything required for Christian Repentance and Amendment of Life, and also on doing Penance during the time of a Jubilee and during Public Calamities. In seventy-six sermons, adapted for all the Sundays and most of the Holy Days of the year. With a full index of all the sermons, an alphabetical index of all the subjects treated, and copious marginal notes. By the *Rev. Francis Hunolt, S.J.,* preacher in the Cathedral of Treves. Translated from the original German edition of Cologne, 1740, by the *Rev. J. Allen, D.D.,* Vols. I. and II. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1889.